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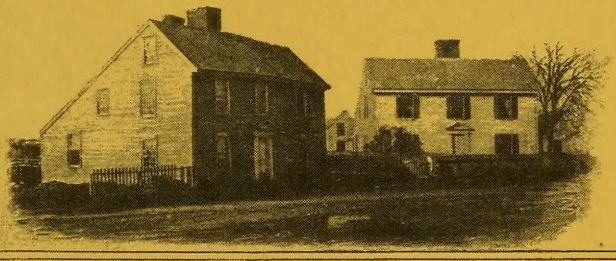

ADAMS
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Miſcellaneous Tracts:

Vol. III. *Viz.*

I. Proving, The Adoration of Images; Praying to Angels and Saints; Purgatory; The Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments; Tranſubſtantiation; The Denying of the Cup in the Sacrament to the People; Private Maſſes; The Adoration of the Sacrament; The Prieſts putting the Bread into the Mouths of the Communicants; Being preſent at the Celebration of the Sacrament, and not Communicating; And, Auricular Confeſſion: To be Doctrines and Practices not known in the *Spaniſh Church*, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, when it was diſperſed by the *Moors* Conqueſt of *Spain*: And that the *Spaniſh* Kings had an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, equal to that which is now in the Crown of *England*.

II. A View of the Methods by which the *Roman Church* keeps her People from coming to the Knowledge of the Great and Manifold Errors and Corruptions which are in her Faith, Worſhip, and Spirit.

III. The Life of *Maria de Jeſus* of *Agreda*, a late Famous *Spaniſh* Nun.

IV. An Hiſtory of the Schiſms which have been in the *Roman See*.

V. A View of all the Orders of *Monks* and *Fryars* in the *Roman Church*. With an Account of their Founders, ſufficient to help any one to form a Right Idea of the Men, or of the Writers of their Lives.

VI. An Eſſay on the Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the Chief Cauſe of the Succeſſes of the Nations, by which the *Roman Empire* was pulled down.

VII. An Eſſay on the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, particularly on that which relates to Appeals to *Rome*.

The Second Edition Corrected.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

GILBERT

L^d Biſhop of *Salisbury*,

AND

Chancellor of the moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

My Lord,

YOUR Favourable Acceptance of every thing that tends to the juſtifying of the Reformation; which, by Your Immortal Hiſtory of it, is ſet in a truer Light than it was ever ſeen in before; together with the kind Reception my *Hiſtory of the Church of Malabar* met with under Your Lordſhip's Patronage, emboldens me to ſupplicate, to have the ſame Honour for the following Tract; which, if it were not prevented by ſome Abler Pen, poſſeſſed of more Conveniences for

ſuch a Work, was promiſed in my *Diſſertation upon the Papal Supremacy:* but that not having happened, as I wiſh it had, in conformity to that Promiſe, and of which I was put in mind by ſome Friends, I did ſet about that Work; and tho' I cannot but be ſenſible, that it might have been done by others to more advantage; I am miſtaken, if in the following *Tract*, it is not ſufficiently proved, That neither the *Adoration*, nor the *Uſe of Images*, nor *Praying to Angels and Saints*, nor *Purgatory*, nor none of the other fore-mentioned *Doctrines* and *Practices*, were ever ſo much as known in the *Spaniſh Church*, in the beginning of the Eighth *Century*; no more than the *Papal Supremacy*; to which I have ſhewed, that Ancient Church to have been abſolutely a Stranger. For I cannot but think, that to all unprejudiced Perſons, Fourty Councils having met in a Church, in a Succeſſion of ſome Ages, to Treat about Matters of *Faith* and *Diſcipline*, without ever having mentioned any of thoſe *Doctrines* and *Practices*, in any of their Acts or Canons

nons, tho' they are very numerous, muſt be as ſtrong a Proof of their not having been known in that Church, as *Herodotus*, *Livy*, nor no other Ancient Hiſtorian, *Greek* nor *Latin*, having any where in their Relations of Battels, mentioned Cannon or Gun-powder; is, of thoſe Engines of War not having been in Uſe, nor known in their Days.

And as that great Ancient, and Indiſputably Orthodox Church, did agree with the preſent Church of *England*, in not having in her Faith and Worſhip any of the fore-mentioned Errors and Corruptions; ſo there is likewiſe a perfect Harmony betwixt thoſe Two Churches, in all the Poſitives and Subſtantials of the Chriſtian Religion; as I have here demonſtrated, as to one great Doctrine, and which of all others has the moſt Adverſaries, to wit, That of the *Royal Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy.*

Now all this being conſidered, and farther, that there is not one of the foreſaid *Doctrines* and *Practices*, which is not,

as I have shewed, acknowledged by some of the Learned Writers of the *Roman Communion*; to be a Novelty, or at least not to have been from the Beginning; must not the *Roman Church* have a strange Forehead, to brag so loud as she does of the Primitive Antiquity of all the Parts of her present Faith and Worship; and to decry the Protestant as new, and of a late Date; whereas in Truth the Protestant, as appears from the following true Representation of the State of the Ancient *Spanish Church*, is no otherwise new, than as Ancient Truths do appear to be so, when they are restored; after having been long hid in dark and ignorant Ages: For tho' Errors may be old, and of long standing, as several of the fore-mentioned are, and in Ages wherein Learning did not rise so high as their Origin, may have been believed to be from the Beginning; yet as Truth is still older, so when it comes to be discovered, its Restoration is very unjustly call'd, *The Advancing of Novelties.*

In

In the main, this was plainly the Case of the Reformation, and especially in the *Church of England*; which departed no farther from the *Roman Church*, than the *Roman* had departed from the *Catholick Church* in her First and Purest Ages, when the Epithet of *Catholick* was given her in the *Creed*.

The Second and Third *Tracts* do petition to have the same Honour, and the rather for their having some Hopes, That Your Lordship may be provoked by their Imperfections to oblige the World with a fuller Discovery of the Arts and Methods by which the *Roman Church*, notwithstanding her manifold and manifest great Errors and Corruptions, does hold so many Nations under her Bondage.

The Fourth *Tract*, which shews, That no Episcopal See has ever had so many direful Schisms in it, as the *Roman*; which pretends to have been erected by Christ, to help the whole *Church* to Peace and Unity; does hope, That Your Lordship will not deny it Your Patronage. The

other Two deſire the ſame Privilege; ſeeing, that if they be not unworthy, they are not improper to be Dedicated to a Perſon in Your Lordſhip's Station.

I ſhall give Your Lordſhip no farther Trouble; but only to beg Your Pardon for this bold Addreſs, and with it Your Bleſſing.

That Your Lordſhip's Exalted Genius, with Learning commenſurate to it; and Your Exemplary Devotion, and Your extraordinary Paſtoral Cares and Labours; and Your large Charities to all that are in Diſtreſs, but chiefly to Poor Clergy-men, and their deſolate Widows and Children; *may ſo ſhine before Men, that others beholding thoſe Your Good Works, may glorifie our Father which is in Heaven*; and that after a Long and happy Life on Earth, You may be rewarded for them with an Immortal Crown of Glory; is the hearty Prayer, of,

Your Lordſhip's
Moſt Obliged,
And moſt Humble Servant,
MICHAEL GEDDES.

A

TRACT,

PROVING

The Adoration of Images,
Praying to Angels and Saints.
Purgatory,
The Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments,
Transubstantiation,
The Denying of the Cup in the Sacrament to the People,
Private Masses,
The Adoration of the Sacrament,
The Priests putting the Bread into the Mouths of the Communicants,
Being present at the Celebration of the Sacrament and not Communicating,
And *Auricular Confession,*

To be *Doctrines* and *Practices* not known in the *Spanish Church*, in the beginning of the Eighth *Century*, when it was dispersed by the *Moors* Conquest of *Spain:* And that the *Spanish* Kings had an *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, equal to that which is now in the Crown of *England.*

From the Beginning it was not so.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum.*

LONDON:
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OF THE

Use and Adoration.

OF

IMAGES.

NONE that have read Primitive Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory with Attention, and a Mind unbiaſſed, can be ignorant, of *Images in Worſhip* having been held in Deteſtation by all Chriſtians, for ſome Ages after the Apoſtles Days; and that the Door by which *Images* did firſt creep into the Chriſtian Church, was an unwarrantable Compliance with the Heathens, in order to draw them inſenſibly to Chriſtianity; nor can they be ignorant, of the *Roman*, having been the firſt Chriſtian Church, that joyned her ſelf to Idols, for ſo Images in Worſhip are truly call'd; and for which Reaſon the *Roman* Church is in Prophecy ſtiled by St. *John*, *Babylon the Great*, *the Mother of Harlots and Abominations*, or Idols, *of the Earth*.

But

But whereas the *Spaniſh* Church, from her Foundation until the beginning of the Eighth Century, had no dependance, and but little Communication with the *Roman*, as I have ſhewed on another Occaſion; ſo by that means, that Church kept herſelf undefiled with *Images*, many Years after the *Roman* Church had polluted her Worſhip with them.

And that it was thus with the *Spaniſh* Church, from her Foundation until the beginning of the Eighth Century; when ſhe was diſperſed by the *Moors* Conqueſt of *Spain*; plainly appears from that Church's profound Silence concerning Images, in all her Councils, which were near Fourty in Number; and that, notwithſtanding there were ſuch occaſions in thoſe Councils for her to have mention'd them, that ſhe could not but have done it, if they had been in her at that time, only for Inſtruction; and much leſs if they had been adored by her.

And as this Church's *Silence* concerning *Images* is undeniable; ſo, with the Judicious and Unprejudiced, that *Silence* has a Force, to prove, that ſhe had none; too great to be baffled or eluded by any ſhuffling Niceties or Diſtinctions; and eſpecially conſidering the Occaſions which ſhe had to have ſpoke of them; of which, out of many, to put the Matter out of doubt, I ſhall give a few Inſtances:

Firſt, That Antient Church in ſeveral of thoſe Councils ſpeaks particularly of Churches, and of all their Parts and Ornaments; and alſo of their *Treaſurers* and *Stewards*, and of all the Things which were committed to the Charge of thoſe Officers; and all this without a ſyllable of Images.

Secondly, In ſeveral of thoſe Councils ſuch ſevere Canons were made for the extirpating of *Idolatry*, that if the Church which made them had at the ſame time had any Images in her, ſhe could not but have made ſome Exceptions in their Favour, which is no way done by her in any of thoſe Canons.

So the Eleventh Canon of the Twelfth Council of *Toledo* held in the Year 581, and the Second Canon of the Sixteenth Council held in the ſame City in the Year 693. do both begin with a Repetition of the whole Prohibition in the Second Commandment; which, had that Church at the ſame time Adored or Uſed Images herſelf, ſhe could not have had the Confidence to have done? As we ſee the *Roman* Church, bold though ſhe is, even in her *Catechiſm* to her *Pariſh Prieſts*, though it is in *Latin*, does for that Reaſon forbear to repeat the whole Prohibition; not ſo much as mentioning there the Words, *Nor the Likeneſs of any Thing that is in*

in Heaven, or in the Waters under the Earth: which Words are expreſly mention'd in both thoſe Canons without any Limitations, Diſtinctions, or Paraphraſe upon them; neither is there in either of thoſe two long Canons, in which Idolatry is ſeverely condemned, the leaſt Intimation that Chriſtians might uſe *Images*, or *the Likeneſs of any Thing that is in Heaven or Earth*, in their Worſhip, without tranſgreſſing the *Second Commandment*. And yet farther, in the Writings of St. *Iſidore*, and of ſome other Biſhops of that Antient Church, which are extant, there is not the leaſt mention of her having had any Images in her: and which conſidering the Subjects they write upon, they could not but have ſpoke of, if they had been in their Church.

But we have not the Silence only of the Antient *Spaniſh* Church, tho' that, as it is circumſtantiated is ſufficient to demonſtrate, That ſhe had no Images in her, but we have her Word alſo for it, in the Thirty Sixth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis*, which is as follows,

Placuit Picturas in Eccleſia eſſe non debere; ne quod colitur & adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

It is agreed, That Pictures ought not to be in Churches, that that which is Worſhipped and Adored, be not painted on Walls.

The

The *Roman Demetrius*'s are put to hard ſhifts to faſten a Gloſs on this Antient Canon, which ſhall reconcile it to the Doctrine and Practice of their Church.

Some will have it, That *Painted Images* only, but not *Carved*, are forbidden by it; but ſince this Gloſs, though it were true, would not reconcile that Canon to the Doctrine and Practice of the *Roman* Church, which has in her many more Painted than Carved Images. Others, therefore, will have it, That *Pictures* were forbid to be painted on the Walls of Churches by that Canon; becauſe if a Perſecution did ariſe, they could not be removed, and ſo would be a laughing ſtock to the *Jews* and *Heathens*. But as there is nothing in that Canon that gives the leaſt Colour to its being thus interpreted, ſo neither were the *Spaniſh* Chriſtians, at the time when that Council was held, in any danger of being driven from their Churches by the *Jews*, who are indeed great haters of Images; and not in much by the *Heathens* neither, who, if the Chriſtian Worſhip would have allowed of Images, would have liked that Worſhip the better for it; a late and unwarranted Compliance with the Heathens in their fondneſs for Images having been viſibly the Thing that firſt brought them into Chriſtian Churches.

A Third

A Third Interpretation was therefore deviſed, which was, That it was out of a profound Reverence for Images, that that Council forbid them to be painted on Walls, becauſe by the breaking or cracking of the Plaiſter whereon they were drawn, they might be ſo defaced as to fall under Contempt: This, tho' it is their laſt, is in my Mind the pooreſt ſhift of the Three; tho' they are all poor enough; for unleſs it can be proved, That the Plaiſter of Walls was worſe, and more apt to break and crack at the Time of the Council of *Eliberis*, than it was at the time when the Second Council of *Nice* was held, which in expreſs Words commands *Images to be painted on the Walls of Churches*, the Firſt of thoſe Two Councils muſt have had a greater veneration for Images, and have taken more care of them than the Laſt did, which will not eaſily be believed by any that know both thoſe Aſſemblies, and their Times, and Temper. Now to what wretched ſhifts are they driven that dare venture on giving an interpretation to a Law, which is flatly contrary to its plain Words and Meaning.

Laſtly, *Bellarmine*, *Baronius*, and the other *Demetrius*'s for Images, have no where quoted any thing out of any of the Writings of the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, tho' they are ſo numerous, in favour of the Uſe of Images in Worſhip; which conſidering their Zeal

in

in that Cauſe, and their great Diligence to ſerve it with all the Colours they could poſſibly ſcrape together, is a Demonſtration, that there is not any thing in thoſe Writings that can give the leaſt Countenance to that Practice.

And as the *Spaniſh* Church continued thus unſpotted with Images, until ſhe was diſperſed by the *Moors* in the beginning of the Eighth Century. So during all that, and a good part of the Ninth Century, the *Gallick* Church, a great part of which had belonged to *Spain*, did diſcover a vehement Averſion to the Adoration of Images; witneſs the Councils of *Frankfort* and *Paris*, which condemn that Doctrine, and the ſecond Council of *Nice* for having eſtabliſhed it; as alſo that outragious Reflection which is made by *Baronius* in the Year 794, on the *Gallick* Clergy, for that their Averſion to the Adoration of Images: which Reflection I ſhall here ſet down in that angry Cardinal's own Words.

Mirandum plane atque dolendum eſt, præclariores hujus Seculi, ejus provinciæ, viros, nominatim ſuperius recenſitos, ſub duobus Imperatoribus Carolo, & Ludovico, *adeo contentiosè, & animo penitus refractario, pertinaci ſtudio, indefeſſo conatu, inflexibili propoſito voluntatis, adverſus Adorationem ſanctarum Imaginum, contra Septimam Synodum, obſtrepuiſſe, clamaſſe, & (pace eorum dixerim) inſaniiſſe:*

ut nihil reveriti Oecumenicæ Synodi Majeſtatem, neque tot pro ea pugnantium Romanorum Pontificum poteſtatem.

It is truly to be admired and lamented, ſaith *Baronius*, *that the moſt Eminent Men of this Age in that Province*, (that is the *French* Empire) *and eſpecially the fore-mentioned, under the Two Emperors* Charles *and* Lewis, *did ſo Contentiouſly, and with a Mind altogether ſo Refractory, and with a pertinacious Earneſtneſs, indefaticable Endeavours, and with an inflexible purpoſe of Will, make a Noiſe, Bawl, and by their Leave, rave againſt the Adoration of Holy Images; and the Seventh Synod reverencing as nothing the Majeſty of an Oecumenical Council, and the Authority of ſo many* Roman *Pontiffs contending for it.*

Was *Demetrius* himſelf in a greater Rage againſt St. *Paul* for Preaching againſt the Adoring of Images, than *Baronius* when he writ this, was in againſt the *French* Church, for having ſo zealouſly oppoſed the introducing of their Adoration into the Chriſtian Worſhip? Here by the Way, we plainly ſee, how little Reſpect the *French* Church in the Eight and Ninth Centuries did pay to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, whether it were in, or out of a Council. That great Church, as *Baronius* acknowledgeth, having long ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Introduction of the Adoration of Images; and that in Defiance of ſeveral Popes, though they were all armed

ed with the Authority of the Second Council of *Nice*, which had decreed that Adoration to be lawful.

I shall conclude this Point with a true and judicious Observation made by a Council assembled at *Constantinople*, in the Reign of the Emperour *Leo Isaurus*, which was, That Satan by introducing Images into the Christian Worship, ἐν σχήματι χριστιανισμοῦ τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν κατὰ τὸ λελησθὲς ἐπανήγαγε, did slily introduce Idolatry into the World again in a Christian Dress; and with that Confession which was, by the Strength of Truth, drawn from the Pen of *Gregorius Gyraldus*, a *Roman Catholick* Writer in the last Age, who having said in the First Book of his *Syntagma Historiæ Deorum*, *That it was safer to mutter than to speak out against Images*, he adds, *Illud certe non prætermittam, nos, dico Christianos, ut aliquando* Romanos, *fuisse sine Imaginibus in Primitiva quæ vocatur Ecclesia: However, this I will not forbear to say, that we, I mean Christians, were as the* Romans *for some time without Images in the Church, which is called Primitive:* Which true Observation, the *Index Expurgatorius* commands to be expunged; and it is so, in the Book which I have by me, tho' not so much, but that I made a shift to read it.

Of Praying to Angels and Saints.

CReature Worſhip, being a plain departure from the Three chief and diſtinguiſhing Principles of that Holy Religion which God has revealed to the World; which are, *That there is but One God:* That *that God only is to be worſhipped, and That God is to be worſhipped as a pure and eternal Mind or Spirit, and not by Images, and bodily Repreſentations*; Chriſtians relapſing into Creature Worſhip, is for that Reaſon called in the Scriptures, *The falling away*, or *the great Apoſtacy.*

But when, or whereſoever that great Apoſtacy from the true revealed Worſhip began, there was no Diſpoſition in the *Spaniſh* Church to it, until after the Time of her Diſperſion by the *Moors.* For as there is not one Syllable in any of her Writings of *Praying to Saints or Angels*, ſo there are in them ſuch Occaſions for her to have mention'd it, that ſhe could not but have done it, if ſhe had had the leaſt Diſpoſition to it; for in her Councils there are above twenty Canons which do ſpeak of her Liturgy, and of the Days whereon her Liturgy was to be read, and of the whole Form of her publick Worſhip, and all this without a Syllable of Praying to Saints or Angels; neither is there any mention of it in her Thankſgiving. And St.

Iſidore

Iſidore Biſhop of *Sevil*, though he has in his Book of *Sentences* one long Chapter concerning *Prayer*, and another concerning the *Saints*, yet there is not in either of them, the leaſt mention of its being lawful to pray to them. Neither is there any Teſtimony produced by the Champions of that Doctrine, out of any of thoſe Ancient Writings, ſave only out of *Prudentius*, a Poet in the Fifth Century, who in his Poems, inſtead of invocating the Muſes after the Example of the Heathen Poets, invocated Saints; a ſorry Authority to prove that the Church, that Poet belonged to, did worſhip them: Not but that the Licenſe which was taken by ſome Chriſtian Poets, and Orators to adorn their Productions with the Figures, which were reckoned the great Ornaments of the Heathen Poetry and Oratory, did contribute ſomething towards the introducing of Creature Worſhip into the Chriſtian Church; not that *Prudentius*'s Poetical Licenſe had any ſuch Effect on the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, or on any of her other Writers.

It is true, in the preſent *Mozarabick* Liturgy, ſome Saints are prayed to; but St. *James* being the only Apoſtle that is named in that Prayer, does plainly ſhew, that it muſt have been foiſted into that Ancient Liturgy, many Years after the *Spaniſh* Church was diſperſed by the *Moors*; for as no Reaſon can be given for St. *James*, and none of the reſt of the Apoſtles

being named in that Prayer; but only that of the *Spaniards* having believed St. *James* at that Time to be their particular Patron or Tutelary Saint: So, moſt certain it is, that it was above Two Hundred Years after the *Mooriſh* Conqueſt, before the Legend of St. *James* of *Compoſtella* was ever ſo much as dreamt of in *Spain*, or any where elſe: And ſo in the Commemoration in that Liturgy, which in the Main is Genuine, the reſt of the Apoſtles are named as well as St. *James*, and Nine of them before him.

And as the Papal Champions that are not *Spaniards*, are no Friends to that Story of St. *James*, ſo for that Reaſon, that Prayer is not quoted by *Bellarmine*, nor by any of them, as a Proof of the Antiquity of Praying to Saints: and which it would be, if that Prayer were Genuine, beyond any that they have been able to produce.

I ſhall conclude this Point with an Obſervation made by *Pereſius*, a learned *Spaniſh* Biſhop, who lived ſince the Reformation, in the Third Part of his Book *De Divinis Traditionibus*, where he ſaith,

Ante Cornelium *Martyrem*, *nulla exſtat mentio*, *quod ego viderem*, *Invocationis & Interceſſionis Sanctorum: in cauſa forte fuit modeſtia & humilitas Apoſtolorum*; *quid enim dicerent qui eos hæc dicentes audirent*, *niſi quod de ſe magna perſumerent*, *& ſe quaſi Deos facerent*; *cum ergo toti intenti eſſent prædicationi*,

& divulgationi Evangelii, & aliarum rerum quæ magis ad Substantiam Salutis attinebant, & captum etiam hominum excedebant, expectabant circa hæc opertam Dei voluntatem.

Before Cornelius *the Martyr, there is no mention that I have seen of the Invocation and Intercession of Saints; and the Cause of that, perhaps, was, the Modesty and Humility of the Apostles; for what would they that heard them teach such things have said, but that they presumed great things of themselves, and did as it were make themselves Gods: but they being wholly intent on the Preaching, and on the Promulgation of the Gospel, and of other things which belonged more to the Substance of Salvation, and did also exceed Mens Capacities, did wait for the opening of God's Will about that.*

After this honest Confession, *Peresius* would have done well, if he had told us, when he first met with any Mention of the Invocation and Intercession of Saints in any of the Writings of his own Church: And when, and to whom, after *Cornelius*'s Martyrdom, there was an *Opening of God's Will*, declaring it, to be lawful for Christians to pray to Saints.

Of Purgatory.

THAT the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church knew nothing of that Place in the next World, which the *Roman* Church now calls Purgatory, is plain from that Place being no where mentioned in any of her Writings; and which it could not but have been, if ſhe had believed it: And from the Commemoration in her Liturgy it is very plain, That ſhe knew nothing of any ſuch Place as the Popiſh Purgatory; but did believe, That the Spirits of all that died in a State of Grace and Salvation, did immediately, after they left their Bodies, enter into a State of Reſt and Eaſe from all their Labours, tho' not of perfect Bliſs until after the Reſurrection; and which Souls are therefore in that Commemoration ſaid to be *Pauſantes*, or at Reſt in the Lord; and among which are commemorated by Name, St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auſtin*, with Fourty Eight more, of whoſe Sanctity they had the higheſt Opinion, and of whoſe Salvation they had the greateſt Aſſurance, without a ſingle Biſhop of *Rome* among them, and without a Syllable of any Offering for Souls; which tho' they were to go to Heaven at laſt, were at preſent in a Place of inexpreſſible Torments, which is the Caſe of the Souls ſaid to be in the Popiſh Purgatory.

I will

I will not ſay that this Church's Offering as ſhe doth in this Commemoration for the Spirits of Juſt Men and Women departed this Life, was not a ſort of praying for the Dead, but which was plainly as different from that which is now practiſed in the *Roman* Church, as praying that People that are at Eaſe and Reſt from all Pain and Trouble, may ſtill have more Glories communicated to them; is different from praying that People that are in inexpreſſible Torments, may have Eaſe and Reſt given them. For in truth thoſe ancient Oblations for the Deceaſed that were believed to have died in the Lord, did amount to no more than that which we do make for them in the Prayer for the Order of the Burial of the Dead, in which we beſeech God, That he would be pleaſed of his gracious Goodneſs, ſhortly to accompliſh the Number of his Elect, and to haſten his Kingdom to the perfecting of the everlaſting Bliſs of all that have died in his Favour.

By the Way, I cannot but take Notice here, that among the Prieſts that do offer Oblations, the Pope of *Rome* is named in this Commemoration; but as he is named in it, after all this Church's own Prieſts, ſo all other Prieſts are joyn'd with him in it: And after all, I do ſtrongly ſuſpect that this was foiſted into this Commemoration, about the Time when St. *James*'s Name was particularly

ly foiſted into the fore-ſaid Prayer in the ſame Liturgy.

Neither is there one Word of Purgatory in the Books of St. *Iſidore* Biſhop of *Sevil*, tho' he has a whole Chapter upon Hell, and another on the Glory of the Saints: Neither have the Champions of that Fairy Country, been able to produce the leaſt Teſtimony for it out of any of thoſe Writings.

I ſhall conclude this Point with *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Confeſſion concerning its late Diſcovery, in his Eighteenth Article againſt *Luther*; where he ſaith, *Nemo certe jam dubitat Orthodoxus, an Purgatorium ſit, de quo tamen apud priſcos illos, nulla vel quam rariſſima fiebat mentio; & Græcis ad hunc uſque diem non eſt creditum Purgatorium.* *None*, ſaith *Fiſher*, *that is Orthodox doubts now, of there being ſuch a Place as Purgatory: And yet among thoſe Ancients it is never, or but ſeldom mentioned; neither is Purgatory to this Day believed by the* Greeks.

Of the Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments.

THAT Chriſt only had Power to Inſtitute true and proper Sacraments in his Church, and that he did inſtitute Two in it, to

to wit, *Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord*, is acknowledged by all, Papiſts as well as Proteſtants; and for that Reaſon, the *Roman* Church, bold tho' ſhe is, does not pretend, That *Confirmation*, *Extream Unction*, *Order*, *Matrimony*, and *Penitence*, are made Sacraments by her; but ſhe will, tho' ſhe has neither Scripture nor Tradition for it, have them to have been all inſtituted Sacraments by Chriſt. And yet the firſt Chriſtian Writer that *Bellarmine* was able to quote for this Number of the Sacraments, was *Peter Lombard*, who lived above Eleven Hundred Years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion up into Heaven, and whoſe Knowledge both in the Scriptures and in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, was too ſmall and ſuperficial, to yield any Authority to this, or to any other Doctrine, that he that was the firſt ſpoke of: And for the Congruencies, the moſt wretched of all Proofs, which *Bellarmine* has deviſed to prove the Truth of this Number of Sacraments, ſhould the Church of *Rome* inſtead of Seven, affirm that there are Seventy Sacraments, as many, and as good Congruencies, if not more, and better, might eaſily be deviſed to prove the Truth of that Number.

And that the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church knew nothing of this Doctrine of Seven Chriſtian Sacraments, tho' the preſent *Roman* Church has made it a Matter of Faith, is manifeſt, from that Church's having no where

where mentioned it in any of her Councils, tho' in them, she speaks much, and often of the Two true Christian Sacraments, *Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.* And tho' she has several Canons concerning Order and Penitence, yet neither of them are any where called Sacraments by her; no, nor by *Isidore*, tho' he has several Chapters upon them.

Of Transubstantiation.

NOT to enter into the Labyrinth of Subtilties devised by the *Roman* Doctors, not to give any Light into the prodigious Change which this long and hard Word supposeth; but to bewilder themselves, and others in it: I will prove, first, That the ancient *Spanish* Church did believe the Substance of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, to remain after they were Consecrated: which Transubstantiation denies. And in the second Place I will prove, That she did not believe Christ's Body to be in the Sacrament corporally, and as it was upon the Cross; which is affirmed by Transubstantiation.

The first may be demonstrated both from the Prayers in the Liturgy of that Ancient Church, and from the Canons of her Councils.

The

The Prayer in that ancient Liturgy after the Conſecration on *Chriſtmas-day* runs thus:

In Altare tuum Panis ac Vini holocauſta proponimus, rogantes ut has Hoſtias Trinitas indiviſa ſanctificet: That is to ſay, *On thy Altar we offer the Sacrifices of Bread and Wine, beſeeching that the undivided Trinity may ſanctify theſe Sacrifices.*

Here the Elements of the Sacrament after they were Conſecrated are expreſly called *Bread and Wine*; and the Bread and Wine are ſaid to be the Sacrifices, in the Plural Number, which are offered upon the Altar.

And on *Eaſter-Day*, the Prayer after the Conſecration in the ſame Liturgy runs:

Ut hic Panis cum hoc Calice in Filii tui Corpus & Sanguinem te benedicente diteſcat: That is, *That this Bread with this Cup may, by thy Bleſſing, be enriched into the Body and Blood of thy Son.*

Here again the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine are plainly ſuppoſed to remain after the Conſecration, and to be by God's Bleſſing ſo enrich'd, as to be Typically the Body and Blood of Chriſt, to all that receive them worthily: And we ſhall ſee preſently the Conſecrated Bread and Wine are upon their being bleſſed by God, called by this Church a Type of Chriſt.

So in the 55th Canon of the Second Council of *Braga*, it is ſaid,

Non

Non oportet aliquid aliud in Sanctuario offerri, præter Panem, & Vinum, & Aquam, quæ in Typo *Chriſti benedicuntur; quia dum in cruce penderet de Corpore ejus effluxit Sanguis & Aqua; hæc tria unum ſunt in Chriſto Jeſu, hæc Hoſtia & Oblatio Dei, in odorem ſuavitatis.*

That is, " Nothing ought to be offered " in the Sanctuary but Bread, and Wine, and " Water; which being bleſſed, are *a Type* of " Chriſt: Becauſe from his Body, whilſt he " hanged on the Croſs, Blood and Water did " flow; theſe Three are One in Chriſt Jeſus, " and they are a Sacrifice and Oblation of " God of ſweet Savour.

Here it is expreſly ſaid, That the Bread, Wine, and Water are the Sacrifice and Oblation of God, and of ſweet Savour to him, and that being bleſſed by God they are *a Type* of Chriſt, and ſo not Chriſt himſelf.

Again, in the Second Canon of the Third Council of *Braga*, it is ſaid,

Calix enim Dominicus, juxta quod quidam doctor ediſſerit, Vino & Aqua permixtus debet offerri: quia Videmus in Aqua populum intelligi; in Vino vero oſtendi Sanguinem Chriſti; ergo quando in Calice vino Aqua miſcetur, Chriſto Populus adunatur; credentium plebs ei, in quem credit, copulatur, & jungitur; quæ copulatio & junctio Aquæ & Vini ſic miſcetur in Calice Domini, ut commixtio illa non poſſit ſeparari; nam ſi Vinum tantum quis offerat, San-

Sanguis Chriſti incipit eſſe ſine nobis; ſi vero Aqua ſit ſola, plebs incipit eſſe ſine Chriſto; ergo quando botrum ſolum offertur, in quo tantum Vini efficiencia demonſtratur, ſalutis noſtræ Sacramentum negligitur quod per aquam ſignificatur, non enim poteſt Calix Domini eſſe aqua ſola, aut Vinum ſolum, niſi utrumque ſibi miſceatur.

'The Cup of the Lord, according to what
'a certain Doctor ſaith of it, muſt be offe-
'red with Wine mixed with Water, becauſe
'in the Water we ſee the People are under-
'ſtood, and in the Wine the Blood of Chriſt
'is *ſhewed*, wherefore when in the Cup the
'Water is mixed with Wine, the People are
'united to Chriſt, and Believers are coupled
'and joyned with him in whom they believe;
'which Copulation and Conjunction of the
'Water and Wine, is mixed ſo in the Cup
'of the Lord, that that Mixture cannot be
'ſeparated: For if any offer Wine only,
'Chriſt's Blood begins to be without us, and
'if Water only the People begin to be with-
'out Chriſt; wherefore when a Bunch of
'Grapes, in which the efficiency of Wine
'only is demonſtrated, is offered alone, the
'Sacrament of our Salvation is neglected;
'which is ſignified ſo by Water, that Water
'alone, nor Wine alone, if both be not mix-
'ed in it, cannot be the Cup of the Lord.

Can there be a clearer Evidence than this, of this Churches having believed the Subſtance

ſtance of Wine to have continued after it was Conſecrated; and to be Wine alſo when it was offered; and that the Blood of Chriſt was *ſhewed*, or *ſignified* by the Conſecrated Wine, no otherwiſe than as the People were *ſhewed* or *ſignified*, by the Conſecrated Water, which it is certain was only typically, or as Things are ſhewed by their Signs or Sacraments.

Again in the Sixth Canon of the Sixteenth Council of *Toledo*, it is ſaid:

Id unanimitatis noſtræ delegit conventus, ut non aliter Panis in Altari Domini, Sacerdotali Benedictione Sanctificandus proponatur, niſi integer, & nitidus: Qui ex ſtudio fuerit præparatus, neque grande aliquid, ſed modica tantum oblata, Secundum quod Eccleſiaſtica Conſuetudo retentat; cujus reliquiæ aut ad conſervandum modico loculo abſque aliqua Injuria facilius conſerventur, aut ſi ad conſumendum fuerit neceſſarium, non Ventrem illius qui ſumpſerit gravis farciminis onere premat; neque quod in Digeſtionem vadat, ſed Animam Alimonia Spirituali reficiat.

On this we that are convened have unanimouſly agreed, That Bread ſhall not be offered to the Altar to be Sanctified, by the Sacerdotal Benediction, otherwiſe than whole, and neat, and which has been ſtudiouſly prepared; neither ſhall it be offered in a great quantity, but in a ſmall only, according to what the Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom retains; whoſe Reliques, if they be preſerved,

ſerved, may without any Injury be kept in a ſmall Box, or if it be neceſſary that it be conſumed that it do not oppreſs the Belly, with the weight of a great Burden, nor be ſuch as ſhall go into Digeſtion, but ſhall refreſh his Soul with Spiritual Alimony.

This Council ſpeaks of the offering of the ſame Bread, after it is conſecrated to God, it had ſpoke of before being offered to the Altar, and provides againſt that Bread, being received in ſo great a quantity as to oppreſs the Stomach and Digeſtion of the Receiver of it, with its weight: Which would have been a very unneceſſary Caution in this Council, if it had not believed the Subſtance of the Bread in the Sacrament to remain after it was conſecrated, and received by the Communicants: No Stomach having ever been ſo weak, as to be over-charged with the weight of the great quantity of Accidents which it had taken.

Secondly that the Antient *Spaniſh* Church did not believe Chriſt's Body and Blood to be Really and Corporally in the Sacrament, is manifeſt from the Prayers which are uſed by that Church after the Conſecration.

The following Prayer being uſed by her in the offering of the conſecrated Bread.

Acceptabilis ſit Majeſtati tuæ Omnipotens Deus, hæc Oblatio, quam tibi offerimus, pro Reatibus & Faſcinoribus noſtris, & pro ſtabilitate Sanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ Catholicæ. That is, *Let this*

Oblation which we offer to thee, be acceptable to thy Majeſty, O Almighty God, for our Sins and Treſpaſſes, and for the ſtability of the Holy Catholick Church of God.

And the Prayer following, at the offering of the Conſecrated Cup.

Offerimus tibi Domine Calicem Chriſti Filii tui, humiliter deprecantes Clementiam tuam, ut ante Conſpectum Divinæ Majeſtatis tuæ cum odore ſuavitatis aſcendat. That is, *We offer to thee, O Lord, the Cup of thy Son Chriſt, humbly ſupplicating thy Clemency, that it may aſcend before the Countenance of thy Divine Majeſty, with the odour of Sweetneſs,*

Muſt not they be wedded to a Cauſe for better and for worſe, and have Vowed right or wrong never to part with it; that dare affirm, for I cannot conceive that they can think it, that any who humbly beſeech God to accept of the Sacrifice which they offer, can believe that Sacrifice to be the Real Body and Blood of God's Eternal Son, the Man the Lord Chriſt Jeſus; as if a Sacrifice of that infinite Dignity, ſhould ſtand in need of the Prayers of Sinful Mortals, to move God to accept of it.

If it ſhould be objected here, That in the preſent *Roman Miſſal*, there is, after the Conſecration, a Prayer much to the ſame purpoſe; I anſwer, it is true there is; but it is as true that that Prayer was in that Antient Office, many Hundreds of Years before Tranſubſtantiation

tiation was ever dreamed of in the *Roman* Church; neither will any that know the Forehead of that Tranſubſtantiation Church, at all wonder at her not having, ſince ſhe received that Doctrine, left that Prayer out of her *Miſſal*; ſeeing that rather than undergo the Reproach of having made ſuch an Alteration in that Antient Office, ſhe will by frivolous Diſtinctions, and falſe Pretences, ſet about reconciling Contradictions; and will by her Authority boldly bear down the World that they are reconciled.

And as in the Books of St. *Iſidore* Biſhop of *Sevil*, there is not any thing that makes for Tranſubſtantiation; ſo tho' *Bellarmine* and the other *Roman* Writers, have ſpared for no Pains to preſs Antient Teſtimonies into the Service of that Doctrine, yet they have not been able to draw one out of any of her numerous Writings, tho' that Sacrament is ſo often ſpoke of in them.

I ſhall conclude this Point with the Confeſſions of Cardinal *Cajetan*, and of *Gabriel Biel*, two of the moſt Learned Schoolmen of the *Roman* Church.

Cajetan in 3 *partem Thomæ. Queſt.* 75. *Artic.* 1. ſaith, *Verba Domini*, hoc eſt Corpus meum, *intellecta ſunt ab Eccleſia proprie; & propterea oportet illa verificari proprie: dico autem, ab Eccleſia, quoniam non apparet ex Evangelio, coactivum aliquod ad intelligendum hæc verba proprie.* That is, 'The Words

' of the Lord, *This is my Body*, are by the Church ' underſtood properly; and for that Reaſon ' they muſt be properly verified; I ſay by ' the Church, becauſe nothing appears in the ' Goſpel, to force thoſe Words to be proper- ' ly underſtood.

And *Biel* ſaith, *Ordinatio Tranſubſtantiationis, fortaſſe, innotuit Eccleſiæ, longo tempore poſt Sacramenti Inſtitutionem: Eccleſia enim determinavit iſtum intellectum Verborum Chriſti eſſe de veritate Fidei, in Symbolo edito ſub* Innocentio *Tertio in Concilio Lateranenſi.* That is, ' The Ordination of Tranſubſtantiation did, ' perhaps, come to the Knowledge of the ' Church a long time after the Inſtitution of ' that Sacrament: That meaning of the ' Words of Chriſt having been determin'd by ' the Church to be of the Verity of Faith, ' in the Creed ſet forth by *Innocent* the ' Third.

Tranſubſtantiation has the ſame Date given it by *Scotus.*

Now, as this Council of *Lateran* was not held till after the Year 1200, which was a long time indeed after the Inſtitution of the Sacrament; ſo it was held in an Age in which the *Latin* Church was Unlearned and Ignorant both in the Scriptures, and in all Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities beyond Belief; and is it much for the Credit of a new Light in the Interpretation of a Text of Scripture, that it firſt appeared in ſo dark an Age, and ſo many

ny Hundreds of Years after the Apoſtles Days.

I cannot but obſerve here, that after ſo many Thouſands of Men and Women have been deſtroyed, becauſe they would not profeſs, that they believed Tranſubſtantiation, that there is ſcarce a Popiſh Writer that does not deny it, in flatly denying the Subſtance of the Bread in the Sacrament to be, by Conſecration, turned into the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body, and the Subſtance of the Wine to be turned into the Subſtance of Chriſt's Blood. For as the very Word *Tranſubſtantiation* plainly imports that Change; ſo it was plainly the meaning of the *Roman* Church, when ſhe gave that Name to it: And which is confirmed by the Council of *Trent*, which ſaith expreſly, That the whole Subſtance of the Bread is turned into the Subſtance of the Body of Chriſt our Lord; and the whole Subſtance of the Wine into the Subſtance of his Blood; and which Converſion is by the Church conveniently and properly called *Tranſubſtantiation.*

Now can any Thing be too difficult for Almighty Diſtinctions to do, after they have reconciled the flat Denial of all this, with the Belief of every Thing ſmall and great that the *Roman* Church Teacheth.

But the Thing that puts the Antient *Spaniſh* Church's not having believed *Tranſubſtantiation* out of doubt, is, that Church,

until 150 Years after ſhe was diſperſed by the *Moors*, having every where Conſecrated the Sacrament with the Words of St. *Paul*, in the 11th Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; in which Words, the *Elements* after they are Conſecrated, are expreſly *called Bread and the Cup*; with which Form of Conſecration, Pope *John* the Sixth having been for that Reaſon much offended, he ſent a Legate into *Spain* on purpoſe to have that Form changed for the *Roman*: To which Change in their Liturgy, the *Spaniards*, who were in a Corner under a King of their own Nation, did agree, by reaſon of their ſtanding at that time in too much need of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Aſſiſtance in their Wars with the *Moors*, to deny him any Thing that he deſired of them. But as this was not the Caſe of the *Spaniſh* Chriſtians, who were mixed with the *Moors*, and lived under their Dominion, and from whom the Antient *Gothick Liturgy* was called the *Mozarabick*; ſo it is not at all likely, that that Change of the Form of Conſecration was made in any of their Books: For as no Papal Legate durſt venture to go among them, about that, or any other Buſineſs, there being no Sect that fights the Papiſts at their own Weapons ſo much as the *Mahometans*, ſo long after that Change was firſt made among the unmixt *Spaniards*, there was never any People more averſe to any Thing, than the *Moz-Arab* Chriſtians

Christians were to change their Antient Liturgy for the *Roman*.

In the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, the *Mozarabick* Liturgy was printed by the Cardinal *Zimenez*; but as we are certain of that Cardinal's having made some Alterations in it, so there is great Cause to suspect him of having made more, and that among the rest, he might change the forementioned Form of Consecration, for the *Roman*. And the Thing that makes this more probable, is, The Copy which he had of the *Mozarabick Liturgy* being destroyed, and with it all the rest, if there were any more at that time: There not being, that I can hear of, after much Enquiry, a Manuscript Copy of the *Mozarabick Liturgy* any where to be met with.

Of denying the Cup in the Sacrament to the People.

IF the Authority of the Scriptures, and the constant Usage of the Primitive Catholick Church, could have secured a Doctrine, and its Practice from being laid aside, the Cup in the Sacrament had never been taken from the People; which the *Roman* Church did, *Cavalleromain*, and with an *express non obstanti*, to that Authority.

And that the Antient *Spaniſh* Church was an utter ſtranger to this great and bold Sacrilege, appears plainly from her Canons, which do all ſuppoſe the Cup in the Sacrament, no leſs than the Bread, to be adminiſtred to all the Communicants; and, according to her, the People have a greater Concern in the Cup than in the Bread; the Union betwixt Chriſt and the People, being, as ſhe ſaith, repreſented by the mixture of the Water with the Wine in the Cup; the Water, according to her, ſignifying the People, as the Wine ſignifies Chriſt.

But that this was the Practice, not only of the *Spaniſh*, but of the whole *Catholick* Church until the beginning of the Twelfth Century, is not only acknowledged by Cardinal *Bona*, but is vehemently affirmed by him in the Eighteenth Chapter of his Second Book of Liturgies; his Words are,

Semper enim, & ubique, ab Eccleſiæ primordiis, uſque ad ſeculum duodecimum, ſub ſpecie Panis & Vini in Eccleſiis Communicarunt Fideles : cœpitque paulatim ejus ſeculi initio uſus Calicis abſoleſcere ; pleriſque Epiſcopis eum Populo interdicentibus, & ſic paulatim introducta eſt Communio ſub ſola ſpecie Panis ; quod a nullo negari poteſt qui vel leviſſima rerum Eccleſiaſticarum notitia imbutus eſt. That is to ſay, 'Always and every where, from the beginning of the Church until the Twelfth Century, the Faithful communicated in the Churches

'Churches under the *Species of Bread and* '*Wine*; but in the beginning of that Age, 'the Uſe of the Cup did begin to wear out 'by little and little; many Biſhops having 'denied it to the People: And ſo the Com-'munion under the Species of Bread alone 'was introduced by degrees: which cannot 'be deny'd by any that have the leaſt Know-'ledge of Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Note, The Date given here by *Bona* to this Practice, falls in with that which is given by *Scotus* and *Biel* to Tranſubſtantiation; of whoſe Belief, with the Leaven of Pride in it, this Sacriledge was a plain Conſequence.

Of Private Maſſes.

THE very Word *Maſs*, which was taken from the Prieſt's diſmiſſing the Congregation, after they had communicated, with ſaying to them, *Ite Miſſa eſt*, is a flat Contradiction to the Superſtition of *private Maſſes:* As is alſo the preſent *Roman Maſs* it ſelf, which does all through ſuppoſe a Congregation preſent when it is celebrated: That Office being many Ages older, as I have hinted before, than the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. And accordingly it calls upon the Congregation which it ſuppoſeth to be preſent at it, *To lift up their Hearts, and to pray,*

pray, and to give thanks unto the Lord; and says to them, *The Lord be with you:* And as it is the same in the Ancient *Spanish* Liturgy, so that Church never speaks of Celebration of the Sacrament, but she supposeth it still to be in a Congregation.

And as this, and most of the Corruptions of the *Roman* Churches Worship had their Rise in Monasteries; so when this Corruption came first to be observed in them, by the *Gallick* Church, which was the same with the Ancient *Spanish*; she did in the following Decree of a Council held at *Nantz*, not only prohibit private Masses, but did expose them, either as an Impiety, or a ridiculous Superstition.

Definivit Sanctum Consilium, ut nullus Presbyter solus præsumat Missam celebrari: Cui etenim dicit, Dominus vobiscum, Sursum Corda; *aut* Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro; *cum nullus sit qui respondeat? Aut in Canone*, & Omnium Circumstantium, *cum nemo adsit? Aut quem invitat ad Orationem cum dicit*, Oremus, *cum nullus sit qui Secum oret? Aut ista, penitus reticenda sunt, & non solum non erit perfectum Sacrificium, verum etiam incurret, quisquis est ille, illam terribilem Sententiam.* Si quis tulerit de hoc, tollat Deus partem ejus de Libro Vitæ, *aut si hæc Muris & Parietibus insusurravit, Ridiculosum erit. Quapropter, illa periculosa Superstitio maxime a Monasteriis Monachorum exterminanda est: Provideant autem*

tem Prælati ut Presbyteri in Cœnobiis, & in aliis Eccleſiis, Cooperatores habeant, in celebratione Miſſarum: Si quis hæc tranſgreſſus fuerit ab Officio ſuſpendatur. That is, 'This 'Holy Council defines, that no Presbyter 'do preſume to celebrate the Maſs alone; 'for to whom will he ſay, *the Lord be with 'you*, and *lift up your Hearts, and let us re-'turn Thanks to our Lord God*, when there 'are none to anſwer? Or in the *Canon*; 'how can he ſay, *of all the by-ſtanders*, 'when no Body is preſent? Or whom doth 'he invite to Prayer when he ſaith, *Let us 'pray*, when there are none to pray with 'him? Theſe Words muſt therefore either be 'omitted, and then the Sacrifice is not only 'imperfect, but he that omits them, who-'ever he is, ſhall incur that terrible Sen-'tence. *If any take away from this, the 'Lord will take his part out of the Book of 'Life*, or if they be muttered to the Walls, 'and Building, they are then ridiculous. 'That dangerous Superſtition, and eſpecial-'ly in the Monaſteries of Monks, ought 'therefore to be exterminated: And the Pre-'lates muſt take care that the Presbyters in 'Monaſteries, and in other Churches have 'Cooperators in the Celebration of Maſſes; 'and if any ſhall tranſgreſs theſe, let them 'be ſuſpended from their Office.

They that are not fully ſatisfied, that the *Roman* Church will do any thing rather than re-

reform her Worſhip, by giving over any Practice in it, and eſpecially if it be profitable to her, tho' in its Riſe it was condemned by an Ancient Council, as either an Impiety, or a ridiculous Superſtition, let them but caſt their Eyes on the ſenſeleſs Pretences, which are made uſe of by the *Roman* Doctors, to reconcile a Prieſt ſaying an Office all alone, which is ſtill calling on a Congregation as preſent, *to pray*, to *lift up their Hearts to God*, &c.

I ſaid, eſpecially if ſuch a Practice be profitable, becauſe private Maſſes bring in a Revenue, which alone maintains many Thouſands of Prieſts, Monks, and Fryars; the *Roman* Clergy's vaſt Numbers in all Places being owing chiefly to this ſingle Superſtition.

For beſides that ſuch Maſſes are the chief Funds of Monaſteries and Convents, to which Bodies great Sums of Money are given to have Maſſes ſaid daily on their Altars, for one Soul or another in Purgatory: and in which Negociations ſtrange Arts are practiſed. There are many Thouſands of Prieſts in the *Roman* Church, who having no Cure of Souls, nor no People to Adminiſter the Sacrament to, do in Cities and great Towns ſubſiſt wholly on the ſaying of a Maſs every Day, if they are ſo lucky as to meet with an Opportunity; and whoſe common Price is about ſix Pence.

Of the Adoration of the Sacrament.

THE Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, tho' ſhe has a great deal in her Canons concerning the preparing of the *Bread* and *Wine*, which are to be conſecrated, and concerning them after their Conſecration, has not one Syllable any where about the Adoring or Worſhipping of them; neither is there any thing in her Ancient Liturgy that looks that way: and could any thing, but his great Unwillingneſs to acknowledge that, in which the main of the *Roman* Worſhip conſiſts, to be a new and lately deviſed Practice: have kept Cardinal *Bona* from ſaying any thing of the *Adoration of the Hoſt*, in a Book in which he treats particularly of all the Uſages belonging to it, and of which, in the Church of *Rome*, that of its Adoration is infinitely the moſt conſiderable. But that Cardinal was not ſo much upon the reſerve, as to the Elevation of the Hoſt, tho' in the Church of *Rome* that is done in order to its being worſhipped by the Congregation; his Words concerning the Elevation being,

Non enim liquet quæ prima origo fuerit in Eccleſia Latina Elevandi ſacra Myſteria ſtatim ac conſecrata ſunt: in Antiquis enim Sacramentorum *libris, & in codicibus* Ordinis Romani, *tam Excuſis quam Manuſcriptis: nic in priſcis* Ri-

Rituum *Expoſitoribus*, Alcuino, Almario, Walfrido, Micrologo, *& aliis, aliquod ejus veſtigium reperitur.* That is, 'It is not clear which 'was the firſt Origin in the Latin Church 'of the *Elevation* of the ſacred Myſteries, 'preſently after they are conſecrated; for in 'the ancient Books of the *Sacraments*, and 'in the Books of the *Roman Order*, as well 'Printed as Manuſcript; and in the Ancient '*Expoſitors* of *Rites*, *Alcuine*, *Almarius*, *Wal-*'*fridus*, *Micrologus*, and others, no Footſtep 'of it is to be met with. And could the Hoſt be worſhipped by the Congregation, before it was elevated and ſhewed to them by the Prieſt?

Of the Prieſts putting the Bread of the Sacrament into the Peoples Mouths.

THAT this was not the Cuſtom of the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, appears plainly from her Canons; which do all ſpeak of the Sacramental Bread being given by the Prieſts into the Hands of the Communicants: Witneſs the Fourteenth Canon of the firſt Council of *Toledo*, which is as followeth: *Si quis accepta a Sacerdote Euchariſtia non ſumpſerit velut Sacrilegus propellatur.* "If "any

" any one does not receive the Sacrament,
" which is taken from the Prieſts Hands, let
" him be caſt out of the Church as a Sacri-
" legious Perſon.

And this way of Communicating did laſt till the Twelfth Century, when it, and all the other Ancient Sacramental Rites were aboliſhed by the Coming of Tranſubſtantiation, as inconvenient in Practice, where that Doctrine was believed: And that this was univerſally the ancient Way of Communicating, is acknowledged by Cardinal *Bona*, in the Seventeenth Chapter of his Second Book of Liturgies; his Words are,

Sacra Communio, antiquo Ritu, non ore excipi ſolebat, ſed manu. That is, ' The Holy ' Communion by the old Rite, was not re-' ceived with the Mouth, but with the Hand.

Of being preſent at Maſs, and not Communicating.

THIS, which is the daily and univerſal Practice in the *Roman* Church, and is, with the Adoration of the Hoſt, almoſt the whole of her Peoples Worſhip; was ſo deteſted by the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, that ſhe would accept of no Offerings from any that were guilty of it; nor wou'd ſhe ſuffer them

them to be in her Communion any otherwiſe than as Penitents: So in the Twenty Eighth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis*, ſhe ſaith,

Epiſcopos placuit ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere: That is, 'It is 'the Will of the Biſhops, that Offerings 'ought not to be received from him that 'does not communicate.

And in the Thirteenth Canon of the Firſt Council of *Toledo*, it is ſaid,

De his qui intrant in Eccleſiam, & deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur, ut ſi non communicant ad Penitentiam accedant; ſi communicant non ſuper abſtineantur; ſi non fecerint abſtineantur. That is, 'Let thoſe that 'enter the Church and do never communi-'cate, be admoniſhed, that if they do not 'communicate they muſt be as Penitents; 'if they do thereupon communicate, they 'ſhall not be any longer ſeparated: but ſhall, 'if they do not communicate.

I have tranſlated this Canon, whoſe Words are ſomething perplexed, by the Light which the Second Canon of the Council of *Antioch* gives to it; and from which I believe it might be taken: which Canon commands all to be kept out of the Church who have been preſent at the Celebration of the Sacrament, and have not communicated: And that in the Seventh Century it was the Cuſtom in the *Spaniſh* Church, That all that did not communicate did go out of the Church, before the

the Communion began; is manifeſt from the following Eighteenth Canon of the Fourth Council of *Toledo:*

Nonnulli Sacerdotes poſt dictam Orationem Dominicam ſtatim Communicant, & poſtea benedictionem in populo dant, quod deinceps interdicimus, ſed poſt Orationem Dominicam, & conjunctionem Panis & Calicis, benedictio in Populum ſequatur. That is, 'Some Prieſts having 'ſaid the Lord's Prayer, do communicate 'preſently, and afterwards give the Bene-'diction to the People: which we do forbid 'to be done hereafter; but the Bleſſing ſhall 'be given to the People, after the Lord's 'Prayer, and the Conjunction of the Bread 'and the Cup.

The Prieſts Bleſſing was then given to the People, becauſe they that did not intend to communicate, were to go out of the Church before the Communion began.

And that this was likewiſe the Uſage of the *Gallick* Church in the Sixth Century, is acknowledged by Cardinal *Bona* in the Sixteenth Chapter of his Second Book of *Liturgies:*

Idem ſancitum fuit in Concilio III. Aurelianenſi, *Can.* 28. *De Miſſis nullus laicorum ante diſcedat quam Dominica dicatur Oratio: & ſi Epiſcopus præſens fuerit ejus benedictio expectetur. Ubi vides præceptum Concilii ad illos primitus dirigi qui nondum recitata Dominica Oratione ab Eccleſia egrediebantur: tuum ſub-*

dit, quod ſi Epiſcopus præſens fuerit, ipſius benedictio quæ poſt prædictam Orationem dari conſueverat expectetur. Sed dices, ergo licitum erat ante Communionem diſcedere Miſſa nondum peracta. Ita plane ſi mores attendantur illius ævi, quo omnes qui aderant Miſſæ, Communicabant; quicunque enim aut non poterant aut nolebant Myſteriorum eſſe participes abſoluto Canone, priuſquam Oratio Dominica recitaretur, ab Eccleſia diſcedebant, quia quod reliquum erat ad Communionem pertinebat. That is, 'The 'ſame was eſtabliſh'd in the Third Council 'of *Orleans*, Canon 8. None of the Laity 'ſhall go from Maſs before the Lord's Prayer 'is ſaid, and if the Biſhop be preſent, they 'ſhall ſtay to have his Bleſſing: Where you 'ſee the Precept of the Council is primarily 'directed to thoſe who did uſe to go out of 'Church before the Lord's Prayer was ſaid; 'and it then ſubjoyns, That if the Biſhop 'be preſent, whoſe Bleſſing did uſe to be 'given after that Prayer, that they ſhould 'ſtay to have it. But you will ſay, it was 'lawful therefore to depart before the Com-'munion, Maſs being not yet ended. It 'was certainly, according to the Uſages of 'that Age, in which all that were pre-'ſent at Maſs, did communicate; and who-'ſoever could not, or would not be Par-'takers of the Myſteries, did when the 'Canon was ended, and before the Lord's 'Prayer was ſaid, go out of Church be-

'cauſe

'cauſe that that was behind belonged to the 'Communion.

How contrary to all this is the Practice of the preſent *Roman* Church, the whole of whoſe Worſhip conſiſts almoſt in Peoples going to Maſs, and being preſent at the Conſecration, and the whole Office of the Sacrament, and Worſhipping the Hoſt, without Communicating: For in Countries where Popery has its free Exerciſe, the People do hear, or rather ſee, an Hundred whole Maſſes, without communicating; for one that they do communicate at.

Can any obſerve this great Change, which has been made in the Sacramental Rites in the *Roman* Church, ſince the Eleventh Century; and not look on that Change as a ſtrong Evidence of Tranſubſtantiation, having about the ſame time crept into that Church: and not ſee likewiſe, that the Reaſon why thoſe Ancient Rites were laid aſide, was becauſe they were judged not to be proper and convenient for that Doctrine, and which would of Courſe have been changed ſooner, if that Doctrine had been earlier deviſed, and ſee farther, how the Time when this great Change in the Sacramental Rites was made, does fall in with the Time when Tranſubſtantiation is by *Scotus*, *Biel*, and other Popiſh Writers ſaid to have been firſt declared a Matter of Faith, and which that Doctrine, if it had been true, muſt always

have been from the Beginning; and have had, both from Heathens and Heretieks, loud Teſtimonies of its being believed by Chriſtians; and whoſe profound Silence concerning it, is a ſtrong Preſumption of its never having been thought of in the firſt Ages of the Chriſtian Church.

Note, That *Bona*, whom I have ſo often quoted here, was a *Bernardine* Monk, and was created a Cardinal by Pope *Clement* the Ninth; his Book of Liturgies was firſt publiſhed by him in the Year 1670, and by another of his Books, I find he was living in the Year 1672: In all his Works he appears to have been ſo bigoted a Papiſt, that nothing but the mighty Power of Truth, meeting in him with an Unwillingneſs to forfeit the juſt Reputation which he had, of his being the moſt able Eccleſiaſtical Antiquary of his Age; could ever have drawn from his Pen, ſo many Confeſſions to the Prejudice of the preſent *Roman* Worſhip; and by which that Worſhip, as to the Main, is in truth made the Creature of late, ignorant and ſuperſtitious Ages, for ſuch the Twelfth and Thirteenth are acknowledg'd by all to have been, as to all ſorts of Learning, but chiefly as to the Scriptures, and all Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, and the Truth is the Juſtifying of the Blunders committed in thoſe Ages, both in Faith and Worſhip, by Diſtinctions which have all their Strength from their being hard to be

un-

underſtood, has been the Work of the *Roman* Schoolmen ever ſince the firſt Riſe of that knotty ſort of Learning.

Of Auricular Confeſſion.

ALL Chriſtians being obliged upon Pain of Damnation, to confeſs all their mortal Sins to a Prieſt, is a Doctrine that was not known to the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church; for if it had, ſhe could not but have ſpoke often of it, in her Canons concerning Penitents, which are above Twenty in Number: and in which ſhe ſpeaks minutely of every thing which ſhe thought did belong to that neceſſary Duty, without a Syllable of Peoples confeſſing their Sins to a Prieſt. And St. *Iſidore* Biſhop of *Sevil:* tho' he has a long Chapter under the Title *of Confeſſion of Sins, and of Penitents*, has not a Word in it, nor no where elſe of Peoples confeſſing their Sins to a Prieſt: Neither is there any thing quoted out of the Writings of that Ancient Church by the *Roman* Doctors, to prove the Antiquity of *Auricular Confeſſion*; and which is acknowledged by *Alexander Hales*, *Bonaventure*, and other Ancient School-men, to be not of Divine Inſtitution; neither is it to this Day in any other Chriſtian Church, ſo

as it is in the *Roman*; and in the *Roman* it ſelf it is not of long ſtanding.

It is, I think, very plain, That the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, and the preſent Church of *England* do agree, in not having in them any of the fore-mentioned Errors and Corruptions; and that there is an Harmony betwixt them in all the poſitive Subſtantials of Faith and Worſhip is as manifeſt, they have both the ſame Canon of Scripture, the ſame Creed, to wit, the *Nicene*; the ſame general Councils, to wit, the *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Epheſian*, and *Chalcedonian*; and the ſame Thoughts of the Authority of ſuch Aſſemblies. In a Word, there is not one poſitive Article of Religion in the Articles of the Church of *England*, which may not, I believe, be proved to have been the Doctrine of that Ancient Orthodox Church.

And ſince it does not follow, from its having been ſhewn in a former *Tract*, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Supremacy, nor any Authority in that Ancient Church; that the *Spaniſh* Kings muſt therefore have had an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy over her; I ſhall here, to ſatisfie all, Papiſts, as well as others, that are no Friends to ſuch a Supremacy, demonſtrate, the *Spaniſh* Kings to have had it, in as great, if not a greater Extent, than the Church of *England* allows it to be in the *Engliſh* Crown.

Firſt, It is plain, that the *Spaniſh* Councils which did treat about, and determine both Matters of Faith, and Matters of Diſcipline, were all aſſembled by the King's Command; and that all the Biſhops in thoſe numerous Councils, did not only allow of that Royal Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, but did rejoyce in it, and thank God for it. All this is evident from *the Relation of Thanks*, which are at the End of moſt of thoſe Councils; Three of which, out of many, I ſhall here ſet down.

The Firſt is that, which is at the End of the Eleventh Council of *Toledo*, and ſtands in it, as its laſt Decree, as they all do at the End of their ſeveral Councils.

XVI. De Relatione Gratiarum pro Conſummatione Conſilii.

Of a Relation of Thanks for the Conſummation of the Council.

In which after having Praiſed GOD for it, they ſubjoyn as followeth:

POST hæc, Religioſo Domino & Amabili Principi noſtro Wambano *Regi, Gratiarum actiones perſolvimus*; cujus Ordinatione *collecti, cujus etiam ſtudio aggregati ſumus; qui Eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ his noſtris Seculis*

novus reparator occurrens, omissos Consiliorum ordines non solum restaurare intendit, sed etiam annuis recursibus celebrandos instituit; ut ad alternam morum correctionem annuo tempore alacriter concurrentes, juxta Prophetæ vaticinium, quod in nobis defractum est alligetur & quod abjectum est reducatur. *Det ergo eidem Principi Dominus pro hujus sacræ sollicitudinis voto, & cursum præsentis vitæ in pace transigere, & post diutina tempora ad se in pace remissis iniquitatibus pervenire.*

'AFTER these, to our Religious Lord and Amicable Prince *Wambo*, we do pay the Actions of Thanks, by whose *Ordination* we are assembled together, and were likewise by his Endeavours aggregated: And who being the new Repairer of Ecclesiastical Discipline in these our Ages, does intend not only to restore the neglected Orders of Councils, but does appoint them to be celebrated Yearly; that meeting together so for the mutual Correction of Manners, we may, according to the Words of the Prophet, as much as in us lies, *Bind that which is broken, and reduce that which is thrown out.* May the Lord therefore give to the said Prince for this his Sacred Solicitude, to pass the Course of this Life in Peace, and after many Years, his Sins being forgiven him, to take him to himself in Peace.

At

At the End of the Twelfth Council of *Toledo*, is the following *Relation of Thanks*, where after having praiſed GOD, it is added, *Cujus ſanctæ Trinitatis poſrimus inenarrabile nomen, & glorioſam ineffabilis potentiæ Majeſtatem, ut det amatori Chriſti Sereniſſimo Domino noſtro, atque amantiſſimo Ervigio Principi*, cujus juſſu ad hunc meruimus advocari conventum *imperare clementer, regnare feliciter, &c.* ‘ Whoſe holy Trinity's ineffable Name, ‘ and glorious Majeſty of ineffable Power, ‘ we beſeech to grant to the Lover of Chriſt, ‘ our moſt Serene Lord, and moſt Holy ‘ Prince *Ervigius*, *by whoſe Command we were* ‘ *worthy* of being called to this Aſſembly, to ‘ command with Clemency, to reign happily, *&c.*

At the End of the Thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, is the following *Relation of Thanks.*

Cujus gloriæ Immenſitatem expoſcimus ut glorioſo Principi noſtro Ervigio *Regi ſub cujus pace pax ſervator Eccleſiæ, florentis regni diuturnitate temporis ſpatia præbeat.*

‘ The Immenſity of whoſe Glory we be‘ ſeech to grant to our glorious Prince, King ‘ *Ervigius*, under whoſe Peace the Peace of ‘ the Church is preſerved, a long and flou‘ riſhing Reign

The Councils of the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, were not only called by their Kings, but they were likewiſe confirm'd by their Subſcriptions and Edicts; ſo the Third Council of

of *Toledo*, in which the *Arian Hereſie* was condemned, and the Orthodox Faith reſtored, is confirm'd by the following Subſcription of King *Reccaredus*,

Flavius Reccaredus Rex, hanc Deliberationem quam cum ſancta definivimus Synodo confirmans, Subſcripſi. 'I King *Flavius Reccare-* 'dus, confirming this Deliberation which we 'have defined with the Holy Synod, do ſub-'ſcribe to it.

The ſame Council is farther confirmed by the following Edict of the ſame King.

Incipit Edictum Regis in Confirmatione Conſilii.

Glorioſiſſimus & Piiſſimus Dominus Reccaredus *Rex.*

UNiverſorum ſub regni noſtri poteſtate conſiſtentium amatores nos ſuos divina faciens veritas noſtris principaliter ſenſibus inſpiravit, ut cauſa inſtaurandæ Fidei, ac Diſciplinæ Eccleſiaſticæ Epiſcopos omnes Hiſpaniæ *noſtro præſentandos culmini juberemus. Præcedenti autem diligenti & Cauta deliberatione ſive quæ ad Fidem conveniunt, ſeu quæ ad morum correctionem reſpiciunt. Cum enim ſenſus maturitate & intelligentiæ gravitate conſtant eſſe digeſta, noſtra proinde auctoritas id omnibus hominibus ad regnum noſtrum pertinentibus jubet, ut ſi qua definita ſunt in hoc Sancto*

Con-

Consilio habita in Urbe Toletana, *Anno Regni nostri feliciter quarto nulli contemnere liceat, nullus præterire præsumat, capitula enim, quæ nostris sensibus placita, & disciplinæ congrua, a præsenti conscripta sunt Synodo, in omni auctoritate, sive Clericorum, sive Laicorum, sive quarumcunque omnium observentur & maneant.*

Thus begins the King's Edict in Confirmation of the Council.

The most Glorious, and our most Pious Lord, King Reccaredus.

'THE Divine Verity having made us Lovers of all our People, did inspire our Heart chiefly to command all Bishops of *Spain* to present themselves before our Throne, for to restore the Faith and Ecclesiastical Discipline: a diligent and careful Deliberation having preceded, as well about Matters appertaining to the Faith, as about Correction of Manners; and which having been plainly digested with Maturity and Gravity, our Authority for that Reason, does command all within our Kingdom, not to despise, nor presume to transgress the Matters which have been defined in this Holy Council, held in the City of *Toledo*, in the Fourth Year of our happy Reign: And that the Doctrines

' which

' which have been determined in this preſent ' Synod, agreeing with our Senſe, and be- ' ing expedient for Diſcipline, ſhall be ob- ' ſerved, and remain in full Force with ' Clerks, Laicks, *&c.*

This Edict, the foregoing Subſcription, and Relation of Thanks, need no Commentary to be ſufficient to demonſtrate, That the Ancient *Spaniſh* Kings had as great, if not a greater Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy than is claimed or exerciſed by the Kings, or Sovereign Queens of *England*; and to which Supremacy, the holy learned *Spaniſh* Biſhops in thoſe Primitive Times, did not only ſubmit, but they highly approved of it, and thanked God for the Benefits of its Exerciſe, in calling, ordering, and confirming of their Synods.

The End of the Firſt Tract.

A

VIEW

OF THE

METHODS

By which the

Roman Church

Keeps Her *People* from coming to the Knowledge of the Great and Manifold

Errors and Corruptions

Which are in Her

Faith, Worſhip, and *Spirit.*

I wondered with great Admiration, Rev. 17. 6.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES,* L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum.*

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THE

PREFACE.

THAT the Roman *Church abounding with earthly Riches and Honours, ſhould, notwithſtanding her great and manifold viſible Errors and Corruptions, be cryed up by many, as of an heavenly Origin and Beauty, is not to be wondred at; ſince* Diana *of the* Epheſians, *tho' but a dumb and polluted Idol, was for the ſame Reaſons cry'd up ſo, by* Demetrius *and his fellow Crafts-Men. But the Thing that is marvelous here; and at which St.* John *in a Viſion of the degenerated State of the* Roman *Church, did wonder with* great Admiration, *is the ſecret Cords by which that degenerate Church holds People in her corrupt Communion; who wou'd prefer the true Knowledge of God, and of his Worſhip, and of the appointed Means of Grace and Salvation, to all Worldly Intereſts and Conſiderations.*

Now

Now having Reaſon to believe this to be the Caſe of the Generality of the Members of that Corrupted Church; in Compaſſion to their Souls, I have in the following Treatiſe, endeavoured to detect and lay open thoſe Anti-Chriſtian Bonds, ſo far as my Obſervation, who lived among them many Years, has enabled me to do it; and which well-meant Endeavours, may God bleſs ſo, that they may be inſtrumental to the bringing many out of the thick Darkneſs of Popery, into the marvellous Light of that Holy Religion, which God, by his Eternal Son the Lord Chriſt Jeſus, has revealed to the World, for the Salvation of loſt Man, and which Divine Religion, is thro' God's great Mercy, now profeſſed and taught in the Church of England; *in whoſe Faith and Worſhip, all Papiſts, that have any Knowledge of them, are forced to confeſs, There is not any thing that is not truly Chriſtian: All that they do, and can condemn in our Church, being her not believing and practiſing ſeveral Things which the* Roman *Church believeth and practiſeth; and which Things, I have, I think, in the foregoing Treatiſe demonſtrated to be Novelties; unknown to an Ancient and very great* Weſtern *Church: As in other Places I have proved them not to have been known to the Two Ancient* Southern *Churches in* Malabar *and* Æthiopia; *and by the latter of which Two*

Two Churches, after she was compelled to know them, they were, and are to this Day, rejected as Hay and Stubble, built on the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner Stone. And tho' the Papal Champions do plainly discover, that they have no Love for the Memory of the Ancient Spanish *Church; yet none of them dare deny that Church to have had in her Faith and Worship, all that Christ had made necessary to Salvation. And it will puzzle the subtilest Head in the* Roman *Church, to give a tolerable Reason, why Doctrines and Practices which were not necessary to Salvation in the Eighth Century, and which were not for that Reason known in it to the Church, should in the Eighteenth Century come to be necessary to it. Wherefore, we may, I think, justly look on the* Romans *as the newest and the most degenerate Christian Church in the World, until such time as she shall shew, that there was somewhere an Ancient Church, which agrees with her in those Doctrines and Practices in which she differs from other Churches; and which I think, has been shewed to be the Case of the Church of* England, *not only as to the Ancient* Spanish *Church, but likewise as to the Ancient Churches of* Malabar *and* Æthiopia, *in all the Substantials wherein the Church of* England *differs from the* Roman. *And of this her Novelty and Degeneracy the*

Church of Rome *ſeems to be ſenſible; for what elſe but the Senſe of that could put her on uſing ſuch Anti-Chriſtian Arts and Methods to keep her People from ſearching into the Truth of all that ſhe teacheth and practiſeth. Of which Arts and Methods a true, tho' I will not ſay full, Account, is given in the following Tract.*

A

VIEW

OF THE

METHODS by which the *Roman Church* keeps her People, &c.

THAT *Roman Catholicks*, who have never had any Opportunities of being rightly inform'd in the Principles and Practices, of the true Christian Faith and Worship, and which is the Case of most of that Sect, should hold Popery fast, and be very zealous for it, is not at all to be wondred at: Seeing the *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Heathens*, in their several Sects, do the same; and all of them, for the same Reason: Which is, *That it was the Religion of their Fore-Fathers, and the Religion in which they themselves were born and bred:* And tho' there is not any Man of Sense and Learning, that is not asham'd to own that to be the

only Reaſon why he is of the Religion he profeſſeth; becauſe if it were, his being of it, would be as accidental, and as little his own Choice, as his being born of ſuch Parents, and in ſuch a Country; it may nevertheleſs be at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt, if not the only Cord, Religion holds him by: being either hinder'd by it, from ſeeking after the Means of a true Information, or ſo indiſpoſed by it, as not to reap that Benefit by their Uſe, which he would have done otherwiſe; but beſides the faſt Hold which that prejudice has naturally on Mens Minds, it has another, and which is a ſtrong one, from the common Opinion the World has taken up concerning Converts: Which is, *That it is not honourable for one to change the Religion he was born and bred in:* And the Thing that gave Riſe to, and does ſtill ſupport that Opinion in the World, was not ſo much the Reflection which ſuch a Change carries in it, on their own, and their Fore-Fathers Wiſdom, as the bad Diſpoſition which is commonly obſerved to be in Proſelytes; who having ſhaked off the Belief of their Religion they were born and bred in, do too often turn irreligious: ſo Proſelytes were called by the Jews, *The Scab of their Religion*, for their being after they had thrown off their old Faith, and zealous againſt that; not much devoted to their new, nor to no other; and which is the Caſe of all that change

change their first Religion, not out of Conscience, but for the sake of some worldly Advantage: And tho' this Prejudice is common to all Sects of Religion, that are of any standing in the World, it was never cry'd up so much, as to their own People; nor decry'd so much as to all others; as by the Church of *Rome:* which makes great use of it to keep her own Sheep within her Fold, but at the same time exposeth it in all others, as Irrational and Brutal; as in Truth it is: However, that Politick Church being sensible that this Prejudice, tho' it is strong, may be attacked so, as to be removed; and especially in such a Case as hers is; she has therefore taken great Care to wall it about, and both to stop, and fortify all the Avenues, by which it can be approached: And this she has done,

First, By stopping all the Ways by which the Knowledge of her Errors and Corruptions can possibly get to her People.

Secondly, By mis-representing all other Religions.

Thirdly, By using an extream Violence.

Lastly, and chiefly, By that absolute Bondage of Thought under which she keeps her Sheep.

As to the Ways by which the Knowledge of her Errors and Corruptions may come at any that believe them; not one of them has escaped her Diligence and Watchfulness, so,

as not to be close stopped by her. For as to that of the *Holy Scriptures*, which are the perfect Rule of the Christian Faith and Worship in all their Substantials; and which were believed to be such a Rule by the Primitive Catholick Church; she has taken special Care, that her Sheep shall not receive any Light by that Divine Way: And to that End, she keeps those *Divine Oracles* close locked up in a Language that is not understood by her People; neither dare any that understand the learned Languages, look into those dangerous Books, without her License: And as it is not safe for any to supplicate for such a License, so for that Reason, few do ask for it. And whereas the Bible has been Translated and Printed in all the Modern Languages of *Europe* by Protestants or others; tho' those Translations do in the Main agree with that of her vulgar *Latin*; yet never was so much Pains taken to prevent the spreading of any Book as is taken by the Church of *Rome* to prevent the Importing of Bibles in the Language of any of her Countries. No Ship which belongs to a Protestant Nation being well at an Anchor in any Popish Port where the Inquisition is, before she is visited and searched narrowly for Bibles, and all other Protestant Books by the Officers of that Court, and who, if they meet with any, do carry them to the Inquisition, where they are all burnt.

I do

I do remember, that the good old Marſhal *Schomberg*, the laſt time he was at *Lisbon*, told me with Tears in his Eyes, That having when he came aſhore there, left a *Dutch* Bible which had been his Grandfathers, upon the Table of his Cabin, it had been carried from the Cuſtom-Houſe to the Inquiſition, and that though he had ſent to the chief Inquiſitor, and had ſpoke to him himſelf for it, he had not been able to recover it; ſo that Cardinal *Zimenes* ſpoke the Senſe of the whole *Roman* Church, when he ſaid, *The having of the Bible in the Vulgar Languages, would be the ruin of their Religion.* For muſt not all that read that Divine Book, ſee, that there is not in it, one word of *the Biſhop of Rome*, nor of *Adoring Images*, nor *of Praying to Creatures*, nor *of Purgatory*, nor of any *other Popiſh Doctrines*, unleſs it be to condemn them. And for which reaſon, and for no other, the *Roman* Church in contradiction to the Primitive, denies the *Holy Scriptures* to be the Rule of the Chriſtian Faith, but in conjunction with *Oral Tradition:* And which though it makes as little for Popery as the Scriptures, yet being of ſuch a Nature, that none but Learned Men can look into it, and who are not always the moſt unprejudiced, ſhe reckoneth ſhe has ſufficiently ſecured her Errors and Corruptions from being detected, by having lodged them in ſo dark and uncertain a Conveyance.

It is true, the *New Teſtament* was Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and Printed by the Popiſh Seminary in *Reims*, with Notes upon it: But that was done for no other end, but only to furniſh the *Engliſh Papiſts* with an Anſwer to the Proteſtants Objecting to them, that they were not ſuffered by their Church to have the Scriptures in a Language which they underſtood. And as I did never hear of but one Edition of that Book, ſo there were ſo few Copies of it printed, and thoſe were bought up ſo faſt by Proteſtants, who are not afraid to ſee all that the Enemies of their Religion can object againſt it, that there were not many left for the Papiſts, and who were not ſuffered to look into it, without a Licenſe, and which was not eaſily procured: And ſo much is acknowledged by its Tranſlators and Publiſhers, who ſay in their Preface, That *the doing of it, that is, the Tranſlating of the New Teſtament into* Engliſh *if it had not been among Proteſtants, would not otherwiſe have been much requiſite, nor perhaps wholly tolerable.* And let *Engliſh* Papiſts but go into *Spain* or *Portugal* with their *Reimiſh* Teſtament, and ſee what the Inquiſition will ſay to their Book and them, notwithſtanding its Antidote of Popiſh Notes. And as the Bible is by the Church of *Rome* kept carefully out of the hands of her People, ſo it is the ſame with all other Books which have been writ againſt that Church, her People not

not being ſuffered to look into any of them. And ſo jealous is the Church of *Rome* leaſt her People, if they believed there were any Learning among Proteſtants, might ſuſpect, that poſſibly they might have ſome grounds for their oppoſing of her, that where ever the Title of *Learned* is given to a Proteſtant by any of her Writers, that Title, though it was never ſo juſt, is by the *Index Expurgatorius* blotted out. By which means, Papiſts who were never in Proteſtant Countries, do believe that Proteſtants have no Learning, nor Books among them, or at leaſt none of their own Writing. And to my knowledge, an *Engliſh* Envoy in a *Popiſh* Kingdom, was asked ſeriouſly by a Judge, whom he had carried into his Study, which was well furniſhed with Books, *Whether he had not bought all thoſe Books in that City?* And being told that he had not, that Judge asked very gravely, *Whether there were any Books in England?* And tho' they that live among Proteſtants cannot poſſibly be ignorant to this degree; yet they do know as little of the inſide of the Bible, or of any other Proteſtant Book that treats of Religion, as if they had lived all their days in the heart of *Spain*; dreading to look into any of thoſe Books for fear of incurring the Cenſures fulminated by the *Roman* Church againſt the doing of it; and could their fears of thoſe brutal Thunderbolts be but once

ſhaken

ſhaken off, the great Obſtacle to their turning Proteſtants would be removed.

The Second way by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is, by miſrepreſenting all other Religions ſo, as to make them appear abominable. And for this vile Work, their not ſuffering their People to look into any Proteſtant Books, to learn from them what that Religion is, furniſheth the *Roman* Guides with a fair Opportunity, and by whom Proteſtants are ſo miſrepreſented, that they are not by the People in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, believed to be Chriſtians, nor to worſhip, or to have any knowledge of God; neither does their calling Proteſtants Hereticks, which ſuppoſes them to be Chriſtians in Profeſſion, at all mend this Matter; for as that is more than thoſe People know, ſo they among them that do know it, will never rectifie their falſe Notion of that Name; but do let them go on, believing, That *Heretick*, *Atheiſt*, and *Infidel* are all but different Names for one and the ſame Thing. And to the praiſe of his Modeſty be it ſpoken, this was not, to my knowledge, better known to any body, than it was to the Man who in the late Popiſh Reign, firſt made the lamentable out-cry of Papiſts being miſrepreſented in *England*. Neither is it one of the leaſt of the Inquiſitions Barbarities, that that Court, whenever it burns any Man or Woman for that Religion, that have

have the Reputation of having led a Holy Life, does never fail to blaſt that Reputation, let it be never ſo juſt, with bold reports of their having detected them, to have been Hypocrites, and in ſecret Monſters of Wickedneſs. Thus Doctor *Ægidio*, Doctor *Cazala*, and Doctor *Conſtantino*, the Three Burning and Shining Lights of *Spain*, for Holineſs, as well as for Learning, were firſt martyr'd in their good Names by the Inquiſition, on purpoſe to prejudice all thoſe who had long admired them for their ſingular Piety againſt their Memories, and againſt the Religion, for which they ſuffered Martyrdom. And as I have elſewhere obſerved this vile courſe of miſrepreſenting, is a Sanctuary to which all unmerciful Perſecutors of People for their Religion, have conſtantly fled to ſecure themſelves againſt the fury of the reſt of Mankind; which reaping no Advantages by the Inhumanities of burning, or rather roaſting People alive for their Religion, would not otherwiſe endure them long; there not being Ferity enough in Man's Nature, as corrupt as it is, to endure to ſee thoſe of their own kind uſed ſo Inhumanly, only for being miſtaken in their Judgments, if they are miſtaken, about Matters which have no ill influence on Morality or Government, and which that they have not, the Sufferers Holy Lives, if they were not miſrepreſented by their Perſecutors, would demonſtrate.

monſtrate. So all Perſecutors, that they may be ſuffered to go on worrying all that oppoſe them, and their Intereſts, as if they were Bears and not Men, do conſtantly ſhew them to the People in Bears-skins, and as ſuch Monſters of Wickedneſs, that tho' they were of their own Religion no Death would be bad enough for them: And by thus miſrepreſenting all other Religions without Fear, Shame, or Wit, tho' the Papal Champions are too ſucceſsful in keeping their People from changing their Religion for any other, they are not ſo in keeping them from loſing it, for it is believed there are more People of no Religion in *Italy* than in all the World beſides.

The Third way, by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is by puniſhing, where ſhe has Power, all that deny any of her Doctrines, with the moſt cruel of all Deaths; and that, after they have ſuffered a long train of other unſpeakable Miſeries in an Inquiſition; which of all the Priſons that were ever upon Earth, reſembles that of Hell the moſt: The Terrors of which mercileſs Court do cauſe all that are within its reach, and which are the great Body of that Flock, to dread the very thoughts of uſing any Means, which may poſſibly lead them to the Knowledge of any of that Churches Errors or Corruptions. For can any but dread the having of a Knowledge, which,

if

if it be any ways expreſſed, will coſt them their Life, Liberties, and Eſtates. And as by theſe Terrors all that are under the Tyranny of the Inquiſition, are of the ſame Mind in all Matters of Religion, ſo far as that Court requires it: So that Unity in ſo great a body of People, is no weak Charm to the Members of the *Roman* Church, which are not within the reach of that Court; not conſidering, that no differences in Opinion, can be ſo Scandalous and Antichriſtian, as is the making uſe of ſuch Inhumane Methods to prevent them; and that by the very ſame brutal means of a well guarded Ignorance, and an extream Violence, a yet greater Unity in all Matters of Religion, is maintained among all the *Mahometans* in the large *Turkiſh* and *Morocco* Empires. For can a Society, let it be never ſo Corrupt, and its Corruptions be never ſo palpable, be troubled with any Differences, which deſtroys all immediately that are diſſatisfied with any thing that is in it. And though *Engliſh* Papiſts, to my knowledge, when they do firſt ſee the Inhumanities exerciſed by the Inquiſition, and the extravagant Joys of its Subjects upon them, are much Scandalized; yet they have not been long under the influences of that Court, and of its Confeſſors, before they are perfectly reconciled to thoſe Cruelties, and do rejoyce in them, no leſs than the Natives; neither can it indeed be otherwiſe,

wiſe, that Inhumanity being in neither of them the effect of any Savageneſs or Ferity in their Natural Tempers, but purely the effect of the Spirit of Popery, whetted to ſuch an edge by its Confeſſors as they would have it to be of; and which, where they dare, they do always give it. So that if in Queen *Mary*'s Reign there were not in *England* the ſame extraordinary Rejoycings, as there are now in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the ſight of a Proteſtant being burnt, or rather roaſted alive for his Religion; though I do not know but there was; it was certainly owing, purely to the ſhortneſs of that burning Reign, not having allowed the Confeſſors time enough to ſtrip *Engliſh* Tempers of all Humanity on ſuch Occaſions. So that if a Chriſtian Spirit be a Spirit of Mercy and Compaſſion, the Spirit of Popery muſt be Anti-Chriſtian; being the moſt Inhuman, Mercileſs, and Unrelenting Spirit in all its own immediate Concerns, the Earth was ever haunted with.

The laſt Chief and moſt extenſive Way, by which the *Roman* Church keeps her Sheep within her Fold, is, That *of having brought them under a perfect bondage of Thought to her*, by teaching them Magiſterially, *That the having the leaſt Doubt or Scruple in their Minds concerning the truth of any of her Dictates, is a moſt damnable Sin.* Neither is there any Doctrine ſo frequently, and ſo power-

powerfully driven and rivetted into the Spirits of the People by their Confeſſors as this is: The Sinfulneſs of all the Mortal Sins, being neither ſo much exaggerated, nor puniſhed with ſo ſevere and long a Penance, as the having had any doubts concerning the *Roman* Faith. And that Church was not out in her Policy, when ſhe made it a Maxim, *That he that doubts of the Truth of any of her Doctrines, is an Heretick, and would, if his doubts could be known, deſerve to be puniſhed as ſuch.* Seeing they of her Communion that have but ſtrength of Mind enough to venture on entertaining any ſuch Doubts, cannot be very far from being what ſhe calls an Heretick; the groſsneſs of her Errors and Corruptions being too palpable, to be able to eſcape the Enquiries ſuch Doubts do naturally lead their Subjects to. And ſo great and meritorious a Thing this bondage of Thought is reckoned to be in her Members, that nothing is ſo common in the Mouths of her Debauſhes, as *the Thanking of God, that among all their Faults, they were never once guilty of any doubt concerning the* Roman *Faith*, and their known innocency in that goes a great way towards the keeping their Conſciences quiet in all their Wickedneſſes. And muſt not all who are held in Popery purely by this bondage of Thought, and which is the caſe of the great body of its Profeſſors, if they had been born of *Jewiſh* Parents, and

and had taken the ſame meritorious Courſe, have been of the *Jewiſh*; and if of *Mahometan* Parents, have been of the *Mahometan*; and if of *Heathen* Parents, have been of the *Heathen* Religion. And how acceptable a Faith, which is thus accidental, can be to God, they would do well to conſider, who believing that they have had the great good luck to be born in the only true Religion, and which is believed in all Sects, do never enquire whether the Religion they were born and bred in, be the true or not. But now, though conſidering how much that High-born Spirit that is in Man diſdains to be in Fetters, as to its own immediate inward Actions, whatever reſtraints may be laid on its outward, it may ſcarce ſeem poſſible to bring Man's Mind under an abſolute bondage of Thought in the matters of its chief Concerns. Yet ſince all Speculations, let them appear to be never ſo well grounded, muſt yield to Experience when they are contradicted by it. So being ſure, that in fact this is the caſe of the Members of the *Roman* Church; the means by which it is introduced and maintained, is a thing worthy of any ones enquiry.

Many pious and learned Men apprehending it to be above the power of Natural Cauſes, to bring the Mind of Man under ſuch a perfect bondage of Thought, as they ſee the Papiſts are under; have attributed it, either

either to Sorcery, or to a Judicial Spiritual Blindneſs; and for both which, they do ſeem to have the Authority of the Scriptures. St. *John* in the 18th Chapter of the *Revelations*, and the 23d Verſe, ſpeaking of *Spiritual Babylon*, which not only Proteſtants, but many others do underſtand to be *Rome Chriſtian, Apoſtatiſed to Idolatry*; ſaid of her, *For by thy Sorceries were all Nations deceived.* And St. *Paul* in the 2d Chapter of his 2d Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, ſpeaking of the ſame, under the Titles *of the Man of Sin*; *the Son of Perdition*; *the Myſtery of Iniquity*; *and that Wicked One*; ſaith of him, and his Followers, *That becauſe they received not the love of the Truth that they might be ſaved, for this cauſe God will ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a Lye*; or things ſo manifeſtly incredible, as they could not poſſibly have believed otherwiſe.

But though I will not ſay, that this may not be the Caſe of the Learned Men in the *Roman* Church, if they do really believe all her *Fables*, *falſe Miracles*, and *groundleſs Doctrines*; yet as to her common People, and others, who have either had no opportunities of better Information, or have been afraid to uſe them, how their Minds might be brought and kept under ſuch an abſolute bondage of Thought, may, I conceive, be accounted for, without having recourſe either to Sorceries, or to Judgments.

Now ſo far as I could obſerve, whilſt I lived amongſt them, and I did obſerve this very thing as narrowly as I was able, this great bondage of Thought, was introduced, and is ſtill maintained, by bold reports of Miracles which have been, and ſtill are to be daily wrought in the *Roman* Church: And by confident Stories of new Divine Revelations made to ſome Nun or other.

And whereas true Miracles ſuch as thoſe which were wrought by our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles, and whoſe Truth are ſo fully atteſted, are undeniable Evidences of the Truth of the things they were wrought to confirm; ſuch Miracles being the immediate Works of God, who as he cannot Lye, ſo neither can he employ his Almighty Power, by which only true Miracles can be wrought, to give credit to Lies, by working Miracles to make them paſs for Truths: So the Papiſts believing that their Church always has, and does ſtill work Miracles, or at leaſt that they are wrought in her, do ſo entirely ſubmit their underſtandings to her, as to dread the thoughts of entertaining the leaſt Suſpicion, that ſhe may poſſibly be miſtaken, and by this Belief, they have the Eyes of their Underſtandings ſhut ſo cloſe, that they cannot ſee any Evidences, tho' never ſo clear, of her Anti-Chriſtianiſm and Corruptions, which may be laid before them: For as were it true, that that Church does work

work Miracles, they would then be much in the right in thus ſubmitting their underſtandings to her, ſo tho' that is palpably Falſe, yet ſince they do firmly believe it, it muſt have the ſame effects on their Minds, as if it were true, and muſt make them proof againſt all Arguments whatſoever. And did Proteſtants after the example of the Church of *Rome*, think it lawful *to Lye for God*, and *their Religion*, they might likewiſe pretend to the working of Miracles, with altogether as good, if not better grounds than ſhe does: But though that pretence would be the beſt Weapon they could uſe with Papiſts; yet as no Proteſtant Church did ever make uſe of it, having no Doctrines which were not confirmed by the unqueſtionable Miracles wrought by our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles; ſo God forbid that any of them ſhould ever have recourſe to thoſe, or any other ſort of Lies to make them their Covering. For though Errors cannot be ſupported but by the bold and falſe Pretences, and the vile Arts which a black policy ſuggeſts: Truth, as it ſtands in no need of ſuch baſe Supporters, ſo if they be employ'd in its Service, it is but diſcredited by them, among all that have their Eyes open to detect them.

And ſo ſenſible were the ſworn Champions of Popery, that nothing but their Peoples being fully perſwaded of Miracles be-

ing wrought by their Church, could poſſibly keep them under that bondage of Thought, without which Popery cannot long ſubſiſt, that they have boldly made that Church's working of Miracles, a Mark of her being the true Church; and as it would indeed be ſo, if it were true; ſo its being viſibly falſe, makes it the Mark of her being the *Beaſt* ſpoke of in the *Revelation*; among whoſe Marks given by St. *Paul*, and which are all to be met with in the *Roman* Church, this was one, *That ſhe would deceive the World with lying Signs and Wonders.* And accordingly that Church has for many Ages, and does ſtill, ply her People ſo with bold reports of Miracles, that never were any People plied ſo with any thing beſides: For ſhould I ſay, that not fewer than ten thouſand Miracles are publiſhed by her in Print, beſides the numberleſs, whoſe Reports did not long ſurvive the Time when they were ſaid to be wrought. I know I ſhould ſpeak much within compaſs, her bulky Legends, and Saints Lives being little elſe but great heaps of Miracles ſhovelled together. And to this Day in Popiſh Countries, as is well known to all that have lived in them, the news of Miracles being wrought in one dark Corner or other, does come ſo very thick upon People, that the talking of Miracles is almoſt the whole of their Converſation, to the great exerciſe of their Patience who live among

among them, and cannot believe them; and that they may have their minds early and throughly seasoned with the *Credulity* to believe all Reports, Written or Oral, of Miracles at first hearing. The first things they are told when they are Children, are Miracles, which were wrought by this or that Image, or by this or that Relick, or by this or that Saint; and as that Credulity grows up with them, so it is greater than could be believed, if it were not seen.

It is entertaining enough to observe, how *Bellarmine* after he had made the Glory of Miracles the Eleventh Note of the *Romans* being the true Church; and upon the Authority of one Legend or other, had quoted some in every Age who had wrought Miracles; does in the Eleven last Centuries quote but one single Pope for having wrought any; and who should that be, but *Gregory* the VIIth. the Falsest, the most Turbulent, and the most Seditious Monk that ever sate in the *Roman* Chair: And before him, he quotes but two Popes, and that upon a Legendary Pope's Authority. And being come to the Age since the Reformation, and not finding in *Europe* a Miracle Worker, he goes for one as far as the *East-Indies*, where upon the Credit of Letters writ from thence by Jesuits, he tells us, That the Jesuit *Francis Xavier*, did work divers Miracles; and the Two he instanceth in, were very extra-

ordinary : *The Gift of Tongues* was not one of them, for he complains of his not having that Gift. The firſt was, That his Body was whole, and did caſt a fragrant Smell fifteen Months after he was dead; as if having died at *Malaca*, no Spices were to be found there to have Embalmed it. The other was, That a Storm at Sea did ceaſe when his Body was carried from *Malaca* to *Goa*; as if, in the *Eaſt-Indies* Storms did never ceaſe without a Miracle.

Neither is what he ſaith of *the Light of Prophecy* being the Twelfth Note of the *Romans* being the true Church, leſs diverting: For as he quotes but Two in the laſt eleven Centuries for having had that Light, ſo the Predictions which he mentions, are very notable Proofs of it. The firſt was the Monk *Bernard*, one of whoſe Prophecies, was, That he told four Men, when they thought nothing of it, nay, one of them was averſe to it, That they would all become Monks, and they all did. The other was, That he bid a Noble Man's Son, who had ſpoke to him to pray, that his Father might be Converted to be a Monk, not to fear, for he would bury his Father a profeſs'd Monk in the Abby of *Claravall*; and ſo he did, and the devout Son, when his Father turned Monk, had his Eſtate it is like. But *Bernard* had another Prophecy, though *Bellarmine* takes no notice of it, of a much more

ſolemn

ſolemn and important Nature, than a thouſand of the forementioned would be; which was, That upon a Viſion, as he pretended, he did promiſe the People of *France*, if they would go in a *Cruzado* to the holy Land, extraordinary good Succeſs, and a compleat Victory over the *Saracens*: Many thouſands went thither upon that Prophecy, but who, without having had any good Succeſs, were all either Slain, or famiſhed in that Expedition. The Second quoted by him for *the Light of Prophecy*, is *Francis*, the Founder of the *Franciſcan Order*; and his Prophecy was, That he told the Chriſtian Captains, that if they fought on that Day with the *Saracens*, they would be beat by them, and ſo they were ſoundly, for having deſpiſed his Words: As if none but a Prophet had before a Battle told truly which ſide would be beat. Certainly *Bellarmine* himſelf could not but ſmile when he produced two ſuch Prophecies, and no more, as ſufficient Proofs of *the Light of Prophecies* being in the *Roman* Church; and in which one would think that Light has been for ſome Ages quite extinguiſhed, ſeeing ſince Friar *Francis*'s time, and who has been dead near five hundred Years, not one is ſaid by *Bellarmine* to have had that Light.

But how vain and groundleſs ſoever all the Reports are of the Glory of Miracles, and the Light of Prophecy being in the *Roman* Church, yet until ſuch time that her

People can be brought at leaſt to ſuſpect, that all thoſe *Miracles* and *Prophecies* may be *Lies* and *Fables*, either Superſtitiouſly or Cunningly deviſed; it is ſcarce poſſible to convince them of the Falſhood of their Religion; but when that is once done, their Converſion will, afterwards, be found to be no difficult Work. And here I cannot but take notice, of the crafty way taken by the Church of *Rome* to pervert Proteſtants; which is, when they find that Arguments will not do, they then deſire them not to be ſo confident of their Religion's being true, as not to Faſt and Pray to God to diſcover to them whether it is or not; and having brought them once to doubt of the Truth of their Religion, as far as this comes to; if they have them cloſe in a Monaſtery, they do either by a Voice, or a Viſion in the Night, after they have ſpent ſome time in Faſts and Prayers, let them know, that the Popiſh is the only true Religion. And by this way, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit told me, very devoutly, he had been Converted in *France*, when he was there, by an exchange for to have learned the Language; and that after a long Faſt, and many Repetitions of that Prayer, the Virgin *Mary* appeared to him when he was in Bed, and told him, There was no Salvation out of the Church of *Rome*. And thus Popery does its whole Work, by falſe reports of Miracles, and by counterfeiting of them.

Now

Now, that all the Miracles which are reported to have been wrought by, or in the *Roman* Church, are either mere Impoſtures, or ſuperſtitious Fancies, may be demonſtrated by the following clear Evidences:

Firſt, By the Perſons and Places, by whom, and where they are ſaid to be wrought.

Secondly, By many of them, and which are as well atteſted as any of the reſt, being of no manner of uſe, and many of them Impious, and many of them Ridiculous and Undecent, and many of them Encouragements to Vice; of all which I ſhall give ſome Inſtances.

Thirdly, By confident Reports of Miracles, when they are ſaid to be wrought in Confirmation of any Points which are diſputed among themſelves, being deſpiſed by thoſe they are levell'd againſt, as things not worthy of the leaſt Notice or Regard.

Laſtly, By the Confeſſions of ſome Learned Papiſts forced by Shame for to make them.

Firſt, This Power of working Miracles, to which the Church of *Rome* pretends, not being lodged in any certain Perſon, nor Body of Men, but left looſe and itinerant, is a ſhrew'd

ſhrew'd Preſumption of that Power's not being in her at all: for though it is a great Raſhneſs to ſay, That Miracles ought to be wrought, where we judge the working of them would do much good; it is not ſo, to affirm that if the Power of working Miracles were given to any Society, on purpoſe to prove it to be *God's Peculiar*, that that Power would certainly be lodged where it would beſt anſwer the End for which it was given; and ſo would be in the chief Governour of that Society, if it has but one, or in its Government, if it has more: And what makes this to hold the ſtronger as to the Church of *Rome*, is that her chief Governour, or Government, which are the Pope, or a Council, do pretend to have the miraculous Gift of Infallibility beſtow'd upon them; and why thoſe Two miraculous Gifts, if they be in the Church of *Rome*, ſhould not be lodged together, no good Reaſon can be given. Since it is undeniable, that if they were lodged ſo, they would anſwer the End for which they were ſaid to have been given infinitely better than they do apart. For beſides that this miraculous Power would then demonſtrate the true Seat of that Church's Infallibility, about which her Members are now ſo much divided; and would have prevented the many long and dangerous Schiſms, which have been in the Papacy, it would have done that Church a thouſand other

good

good Offices which ſhe has not received from it, as it is ſaid to have lain lurking in her for many Ages. For tho' within theſe thouſand Years, many thouſands of Miracles are reported to have been wrought in the *Roman* Church; not ſo much as one is ſaid to have been wrought by any of her Popes, or by any of her Councils; *Gregory* the VIIth always excepted, for having been the very laſt Pope that one would have gueſſed to have wrought any. So that if that miraculous Power be in her, and was given her for a Mark of her being the only True Church, it is a Mark ſo obſcure, and which lurks in her ſo, that whatever others may do, none that have their Eyes open can ſee it; and which all muſt have done, had it been ſtamped either on the Pope, or upon a Council.

But though this miraculous Mark is not to be ſeen on any certain Part of the *Roman* Church, and never on thoſe Parts where it would be the moſt uſeful, and would do the moſt good, both to her ſelf, and the reſt of the World. Yet that Church has a Mark ſet on her by St. *Paul*, and by St. *John*, expreſly on a certain Part of her Body, that is, on her *Fore-head*; and which Mark may be plainly ſeen by all that will learn from thoſe Two Apoſtles what it is.

Secondly, The Miſſionaries which are ſent by the *Roman* Church to convert *Infidels* and *Here-*

Hereticks to her, not having the Power of working Miracles, is more than a Presumption of no such Power's being in that Church. For considering that St. *Paul* has declared, That *Signs* or *Miracles* are wrought for the sake of those who do not believe, that they may be brought to the Faith by their Testimony; and not for Believers, who stand in no need of them: Must not, according to this Doctrine of St. *Paul's*, to the Power of working Miracles, if it be any where in a Church, be chiefly, if not only, in those who are employ'd by her to convert Infidels or Hereticks to her Faith? But with the numberless Miracles which are said to be wrought in the *Roman* Church, it is quite otherwise, none of which are ever wrought before Infidels or Hereticks to convert them; but they are one, and all said to be wrought in hugger-mugger among her own believing Members; and the more entirely any People do believe in that Church, the more Miracles are still reported to be wrought among them; and which Miracles are of no benefit to them, unless their being kept by them under an absolute Bondage of Thought is reckoned a Benefit; it is true their Churches are full of *Tables of Vows* which have been made by People to one Saint or another, for I never saw one hung up for the Honour of God or Christ, when they were very sick, or in danger of being Shipwreck'd, or in any other great

great Peril; and who having recovered, and been deliver'd, after they had made that Vow, are reckoned to have been delivered miraculouſly by the Saint to whom they made it. But though theſe Events, if they wore miraculous, could not be denied to be beneficial, yet it will be ſoon enough for the *Roman* Church to prove that Miracles are wrought in her from thoſe Events; when no Infidels or Hereticks that are dangerouſly ſick do ever recover; or when in any Peril of being Shipwreck'd that they are conſtantly caſt away. Which is ſo far from being true, that I am apt to believe, that were there a true and full Account of all theſe latter dangerous Events, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being better Seamen, would be found to eſcape ſuch Dangers, much oftener than the *Spaniſh* or *Portugueſes*. And that other Nations, which are not Popiſh, nor ſo good Sailors as they, do ſometimes eſcape out of great Perils.

And though no doubt is to be made, of as many, if not more, Miracles being reported to be wrought in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* among the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* that live there, than are reported to be wrought in *Spain* and *Portugal*, yet that they have no Miracles to ſpare to convert the poor unbelieving *Indians* to their Faith, is acknowledged by *Joſeph Acoſta*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, who was early, and long a Miſſionary in the *Weſt-Indies*; whoſe Words in the Eighth Chap-

Chapter of his Second Book *De procuranda Indorum ſalute*, which was Printed at *Salamanca* in the Year 1589, I ſhall here ſet down.

Altera cauſa in nobis eſt, cur Apoſtolica prædicatio inſtitui omnino Apoſtolice non poſſit, quod Miraculorum nulla facultas ſit, *&c. at noſtri nunc temporis cum talium operum majeſtate ſeſe* Barbaris *admirandos, & timendos non præbeant, nihil reſtat, niſi ut reliqua vitæ inopia, & impotentia, penitus contemnatur.* And ſoon after in the ſame Chapter that Jeſuit adds, *His accedit, quod perſpecta noſtrorum hominum avaritia, & ferocia ita hæ Nationes perculſæ ſunt, ut ſibi conſulendum putant, noſtris ubicunque conceditur, ſine ulla diſcrimine interemptis. Non ſolum ergo Signorum vis noſtris temporibus deeſt, verum pro iis etiam ſcelera ubique fervent.* That is, *Another Cauſe, why with us the Apoſtolical Preaching cannot be at all Apoſtolically diſcharged, is, becauſe* there is no Power of working Miracles. *And ours, at this time, not rendring themſelves admirable and formidable to the* Barbarians *by the Majeſty of ſuch Works, nothing can hinder the remaining Poverty of their Lives and their Weakneſs, to be throughly contemned. To theſe it may be added, That beholding the Covetouſneſs and Cruelty of our Men, thoſe Nations are ſtruck with it ſo, that they do reckon they have conſulted well for themſelves, when, where they dare do it, they have killed them without Diſtinction. Neither is* the Power of working Miracles

Miracles *only wanting in our Times, but instead of that, Crimes do reign every where.* So far *Acosta.*

And what was it but the want of this miraculous Power among Infidels, that made the Jesuit *Xavier*, who is stiled the Apostle of the *Indies*, to say, *That Missionaries without Muskets, did never make Converts to any purpose.*

And yet, notwithstanding this acknowledged great Want of the Apostolical Gift of working Miracles, the Jesuits have managed that Matter so in *Spain* and *Portugal*, that on the Account of their *Indian* Missions, they have got themselves in those Two Kingdoms, to be called oftener, and to be better known by the Name of *Os Apostolos*, or the *Apostles*, than by that of *Jesuits*, tho' that is a Name of Arrogance enough. And now here I would ask, Whether a Church that has no Power to work Miracles on the great and proper Occasions of Converting Infidels, can be believed to have any Miracles wrought in her.

And is it not the same with the *Roman* Missionaries who are employed to convert Protestants, among whom I did never hear of their having wrought one single Miracle, nor of their having ever given it out that they would work one; publickly to convert them, and can one think otherwise of the Church of *Rome*'s not having wrought any

any Miracles here in *England*, in the late Popiſh Reign to have promoted the Converſion of the whole Kingdom, but that ſhe had no Power to work any, and that being conſcious to her ſelf that ſhe had not, ſhe durſt not pretend that ſhe would, knowing very well, that thereby ſhe would have expoſed her ſelf to the Scorn and Contempt of Proteſtants, whom ſhe knows not to be ſo credulous as her own People.

Now Miracles never being wrought by the Church of *Rome*, where they are of any conſiderable Benefit, either to her ſelf, or to the reſt of the World is a Demonſtration to all that know what ſort of Works Miracles are, that ſhe has no Power to work them; and that all the Miracles which are reported to be wrought in her, are either mere Fictions, or ſuperſtitious Deluſions. And this will yet further appear by giving Inſtances of ſeveral of the Miracles which are ſaid to be wrought in the *Roman* Church, and which are as well atteſted as any that are reported to have been wrought in her, many of which are altogether uſeleſs, others are impious, others are ludicrous, and others have an ill Influence on Religion, and a good Life.

Under the Head of Uſeleſs, as to any religious Purpoſe, the greater Part of that Church's pretended Miracles might be brought. So St. *Patrick*, is ſaid to have heated an Oven with Snow, when there was

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no want of better Fuel in *Ireland*; and to have turned a Pound of Honey, into a Pound of Butter to humour his Nurſe, who loved Butter better than Honey, tho' a Pound of Butter was then to have been had there for a Farthing. So St. *Francis*, when he preached in the Fields, brought all the Beaſts in the Foreſt to be his Auditors. And St. *Anthony*, when he preached near a River, brought all the Fiſh above Water to hear him; and neither the Land nor the Water Congregation would depart, before their Preacher had diſmiſſed them with a Bleſſing. Several of their Friars have hung their wet Habits a drying on the Sun-beams, when they wanted not Hedges to have laid them on. And many more have paſſed the Seas upon their Frocks, and upon ſingle Stones, when they might have had Ships and Boats; and many a Stone has been made miraculouſly hard, and do continue ſo ſtill for having hurt Friars Feet. But ſuch uſeleſs Miracles as theſe are numberleſs in the *Roman* Legends: I paſs therefore to others, which are impious, and which are pretty common too; for of that Nature, I reckon thoſe to be, of Chriſt's having married Nuns, and played at Cards with them; and of his having taken them up upon his Croſs, and of Nuns having lived upon the Milk of the bleſſed Virgin, and of ſome Orders being ſo dear to our bleſſed Lady, that in Heaven ſhe lodges them

under her Robes; and ſince they who are Strangers to the Books of the *Roman* Church, may think that it is not poſſible for any Chriſtians to be ſo impious as to report ſuch Stories; for their Conviction, I ſhall ſet down the Stories of ſuch Miracles in their own Words, and that not out of blind Writers, who lived before the Reformation, but out of Authors who have writ ſince, and whoſe Books are approved, and licenſed by the Inquiſition, and by the Provincials of Orders, and by many others.

Waddingus, a late learned *Franciſcan*, in his Annals on his own Order on the Year 1514, ſaith, that *Santa Clara* did confeſs, that by a ſingle Prerogative of Chriſt's Love for her, Chriſt did firſt betroth himſelf to her, and afterwards marry her; and that from that Time ſhe ſucked the Bleſſed Virgin, tho' ſhe did look plump, ſhe did eat but ſeldom, and but but very little; and that having once ſeen Chriſt upon the Croſs he did take her up to him, and that having hung there for ſome time, ſhe had vehement Pains in her Hands, and in the Soles of her Feet, and in her Side, and which continued after ſhe returned Home.

And on the Year 1534, *Waddingus* having forgot that twenty Years before he had called Chriſt's having married *Santa Clara* a ſingular Prerogative of his Love to her, on this Year, he ſaith, that Chriſt did before the

the bleſſed Virgin, and a Multitude of Angels, take *Joanna a Santa Cruce* for his Wife, wedding her with his own Ring.

And that none may think the *Roman* Church is now grown aſhamed of theſe ſtupendous Impieties, I ſhall here ſet down two Stories of the ſame Stamp, in the Words they are related, in the Life of *Santa Roſa*, who was born long after the Reformation, and which Life was printed in *Spain*, within theſe thirty Years, and approved of, and licenſed by the Inquiſition, and many more Eccleſiaſticks.

In the Eleventh Chapter of that Life, it is ſaid; Oh! the Miracle which now follows, is a moſt clear Teſtimony of the Love of the Divine Spouſe, in having taken *Santa Roſa* to be his Wife.

After this holy Virgin had cloathed her ſelf with the Habit of the Third Order of her Father St. *Dominick*, a certain Man appeared to her, as ſhe was aſleep one Night, with ſo charming and beautiful a Geſture, that *Santa Roſa* was perſwaded he was either one of the Saints, which are clad with the Lights and Splendors of Glory, or was her own divine Spouſe; who is beautiful and reſplendent beyond all the Sons of Men. The only thing that ſtuck with her, was, That by his Cloaths he appeared to be a *Maſon*, or one who worked on Stone and Marble for the building of Houſes; but in truth it was the

divine Spouſe; and who by his Countenance and Geſture did diſcover the Love and Chearfulneſs wherewith he came to ſeek out his Bride, to be married to her. *Roſa*, who had never in her Life before ſo much as dreamt of Marrying, did on this Occaſion begin to entertain Thoughts of it; and not only ſo, but did judge, that it would be the greateſt Happineſs that could befal her, to have the Young Man who appeared to her for her Spouſe; which was undoubtedly a Sympathy in her, and a hidden Effect of the divine Grace, moving and touching *Roſa* to love the Secrets which ſhe did not underſtand, ſo as to accept of the Contract of Marriage which was propoſed to her; and accordingly they having betrothed their Word and Faith one to another, the Bridegroom departed, ſaying, *He had a Journey to take, which could not be deferred.* But this refined Lover, not being content with having ſhewed himſelf to be *Roſa*'s Husband in a Diſguiſe, and in a Dream, in the Figure and Habit of a *Maſon*; he threw off his Diſguiſe, and came to her when ſhe was awake, deſiring he might have her for his Wife; and that *Roſa* might be certain in the Myſtery and Signification of ſo many Signs of Joy, the little *Jeſus* ſpoke theſe amorous Words to her; *Roſa of my Heart, give your ſelf to me, to be my Spouſe*; and ſhe having humbly accepted of ſo ſovereign and prodigious a Favour, made anſwer

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in the humble Words of the moſt pure Virgin, *O the good Jeſus, here is the Servant of the Lord, here is thy Servant and Slave, O King of Eternal Majeſty! I am thine, and do own my ſelf to be thine, and will be thine always.* Here the holy Virgin did interpoſe, as ſhe did at the Marriage at *Cana* in *Galilee*; and with more Action, and better Reaſon, ſhe having been the ſole Mother, and Match-maker of this Wedding, which had been wholly contrived and ordered by her; it having been at her Requeſt that her only Son did take *Roſa* for his Wife; and who at laſt ſaid theſe Words to the Bride, *See* Roſa, *the great Favour my Son has done you.*

The next miraculous Story, is, in the Fifteenth Chapter of that Saint's Life, which is, That *Roſa* being very ill of a ſore Throat, the Lord whoſe Throat is moſt ſweet, as it is ſaid of him in the Fifth of the *Canticles*, appeared to her all over amiable; and having, to divert her Pain, invited her to play with him, *Roſa* was content, having firſt bargained, that the Winnings ſhould be whatever the Winner pleaſed. The Cards were plaid, and *Roſa* having won the firſt Game, demanded her Winnings preſently; and remembring, perhaps, thoſe Words of the Spouſe in the *Canticles*, *His Fruit is ſweet to my Throat*, ſhe required that the Pain of her Throat might be mitigated, and it was ſo preſently. But the Divine Compa-

nion and Gameſter, as if he could not with Patience bear his having loſt, did inſiſt on playing another Game, and which having been yielded to, he won it: And that the Reward of his Victory might be the increaſing of *Roſa*'s Patience, the Pain of her Throat encreaſed ſo of a ſudden, that ſhe paſſed the whole Night without any Sleep. And perceiving that *Maria Olivera* was much concerned at her being worſe, to comfort her, *Roſa* diſcovered the whole Secret to her, ſaying, *Her Pain was no matter of care, having been only a Game or Paſtime with the Spouſe.*

I ſhall add but one Story more of this ſort, and which is told by no leſs a Perſon than the Learned Cardinal *Bona.* The Story is, That a Monk of his own Order, which was the *Benedictine*, having been carried up into Heaven, did there ſee the bleſſed Virgin ſitting upon a Throne, with innumerable Multitudes of Monks and Friars, of all other Orders but his own about her. The good *Benedictine* was ſo confounded at this Sight, that he was ready to have ſunk down; which having been obſerved by the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhe called him to her, and *bid him be of good Courage, for the* Benedictines *were ſo dear to her, that they were always the neareſt to her.* And having thrown aſide her Robes, he ſaw a numberleſs Company of *Benedictines*, which he could not ſee before: This

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impious and indecent Stuff, which is enough to make a *Proteſtant* ſick to relate it, is not only believed in the *Roman* Church, but a Claim is put into this Story, by ſeveral other Orders; tho' *Bona* ſaith unjuſtly; and is it not the ſame with the Wounds of our bleſſed Lord, which are ſaid to have been printed by him, on the ſame Parts of St. *Francis*'s Body: And the Truth is the great Emulations which have been long betwixt the ſeveral Orders of Monks, Friars and Nuns in the *Roman* Church, have above all things elſe, filled their Legends with ſuch impious, miraculous Stories: Every Order, having ſtrove and wrack'd their Invention to deviſe ſo miraculous Favours done to their own, and to no other Order: And by which fierce Emulations, they have been ſo far tranſported, and eſpecially in the Familiarities which are ſaid by them to have paſſed betwixt our bleſſed Lord and ſome of their Nuns, and betwixt our bleſſed Lady and ſome of their Monks and Friars, that if the Deviſors of thoſe vile Reports, be not looked on as ſhameleſs Lyars, the Honour of Chriſtianity muſt ſuffer by them extreamly. And at this Weapon the *Franciſcans*, to give them their due, have out-done the *Dominicans*, and all others, having had the good Luck firſt to think *of that our Lord's Wounds* and of that *of his marrying Nuns*; and tho' the *Dominicans*, knowing how much the *Franciſcan* Order did value

its ſelf upon thoſe Privileges, have ſince been at great Pains to have had them for their Order too; they have miſcarried foully, thro' the Vigilance of the *Franciſcans*, in two Attempts to have had the pretended Wounds; and tho' *Katherine* of *Sienna*, a *Dominican* Nun, and *Mary* of *Pazzi*, a *Carmelite*, who has not been Canoniz'd thirty Years, are both ſaid to have had thoſe Wounds; yet their having never been ſeen by any Body upon them, does not a little leſſen the Credit of thoſe Reports, notwithſtanding it is ſaid, that the Reaſon why they were never ſeen upon the latter, was, that when ſhe received them, ſhe prayed they might never be beheld by any human Eye: And her Prayer was heard, for they were never ſeen upon her by any Mortal: And tho' the Miracles which are reported to have been wrought by this new Saint, as to the Evidences of their Truth, have no Advantage of the old ones; yet being of ſome uſe they are more artfully framed: ſuch were her having in her Life-time turned a Veſſel of ſower Wine into a Veſſel of excellent good Wine, and which did work Miracles; and her Image after her Death having been ſet on an Oil-Tub, did ſupply all the Nuns of her Convent with ſpecial Oil for above three Months; and her having turned her Head to the other ſide when a licentious young Man came to touch her dead Body, as was atteſted by a Jeſuit, who would never

never have lent a *Dominican* Nun ſuch a Teſtimony, no nor a *Carmelite* neither, if his own Order had had any Nuns belonging to it.

Many Miracles are ſaid to have been wrought in the *Roman* Church, which are not only uſeleſs, but are alſo ludicrous: So *Dominick*, having been diſturb'd one Day in his Study by the Devil's skipping about on the Leaves of his Book in the ſhape of a Flea, to puniſh him for his Saucineſs, *Dominick* kept him in that ſhape a conſiderable Time, and having fixed him, made uſe of him for a *Mark* to know where he had left off reading: But the Devil, after he was releaſed from that Poſt, having diſturbed *Dominick* more, as he was reading by Candle-Light, by grinning, and making grimaces at him, in the ſhape of a Monkey; to ſpoil his apiſh Tricks, *Dominick* made him hold his Candle, till his Claws were burnt to the Bone.

St. *Francis* was a Mediator of Peace betwixt a Village in *Italy*, and a Wolf which deſtroy'd their Cattle; and having firſt brought the Village to promiſe to ſupply the Wolf daily, as was reaſonable, with ſufficient Suſtenance, he went forth to the Wolf, and acquainted him with the Articles he had procured for him; and having gained much upon the Wolf by having called him *Brother*, he accepted of the Terms, and did

did with his Paws ſolemnly Stipulate never to touch their Cattel any more; neither did he, St. *Francis* being the Guarantee of the Peace.

St. *Vincent*'s Body after his Martyrdom, having, at the Cape which bears his Name, been put aboard a Ship which had no Mariners in her, the Ship was ſteer'd from that Cape to *Lisbon* by a *Raven*; and to this Day there are in that City ſeveral *Ravens*, which are deſcended from that Pilot, to be living Witneſſes of that Miracle, though none of them are Pilots.

A certain *Carthuſian* being dangerouſly Sick, his Phyſicians impoſed upon him, and for Water-gruel gave him Hen-broth; but before the firſt Spoonful of Broth was within his Lips, the whole Hen, that had been boiled in it, Feathers and all, flew out of the Poringer.

St. *James* the Apoſtle in moſt of the Battles the *Spaniards* had with the *Moors*, is ſaid to have appeared armed Cap apee upon a ſtately white Horſe, at the Head of the *Spaniſh* Armies, and to have mowed the Infidels down by Troops. And ſo firmly was this Miracle believed in *Spain*, that in gratitude to that Apoſtolical General, the richeſt Order in that Kingdom was erected to preſerve the Memory of his Martial Feats. On which, nevertheleſs *Mariana*, though both a Jeſuit and a *Spaniard*, could not forbear making

king the following ſcurvy Reflection: *Who can aſcertain the truth of this*, that is, of St. *James's* fighting ſo, *but the Joy of ſuch Victories does commonly give occaſion to all ſorts of Miracles being looked on as indubitable.*

Many Miracles which are ſaid to have been wrought in the Church of *Rome*, have naturally a very ill influence on Religion, and a good Life.

So in the Fourth and Fifth Lections of the *Office* of the *Immaculate Conception*, approved by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, the following Miracle is ſolemnly related.

A certain *French* Prieſt, who did conſtantly ſing the *Nocturnal Hours* of the bleſſed Virgin with great Devotion, having one Night been too familiar with another Man's Wife, he did, after his Luſt was ſatisfied, about Midnight make haſt to return Home; but having a great River to paſs, after he was in the Boat, he began to ſing our *Lady's Hours*, and when he was in the middle of the River, being come to the Invitatory *Ave Mary*, &c. a great company of Devils came about him; and having ſunk both him and his Boat, down to the bottom, according to his Deſerts, they carried his Soul away with them; but on the third Day after, the bleſſed Virgin with an innumerable company of Saints all clad with Light, came to the place where the evil Spirits were tormenting him: The bleſſed Virgin having fallen

fallen upon the Devils with hard Words, asked them, *How they durſt torment the Soul of one that ſerved her :* The Devils anſwered, *we have a right to his Soul, for we found him employ'd in our Works :* To this the bleſſed Virgin reply'd, *If his Soul belongs to thoſe, whoſe Work he was performing, it muſt be mine, for he was ſinging my Mattins when ye ſlew him : ye have been therefore guilty of a great Crime, and have done me a great Injuſtice.* At theſe words, the Devils having fled ſome one way, and ſome another, the bleſſed Virgin carried the Prieſts Soul back to his Body, and having raiſed him from two Deaths, and the bottom of the Sea, ſhe carried him back ſafe to his Port. This Miracle, as it could not but beget a wonderful Devotion in all that believed it, for the *Office* of the *Immaculate Conception*, and which was indeed the end for which it was deviſed, ſo it could not but at the ſame time much weaken their Belief of the Neceſſity of *Repentance*, ſeeing the want of that Duty might be abundantly ſupply'd by that *Office*, being the laſt Exerciſe of ones Life.

A ſober Gentleman had his Leg broke one Night, as he was riding home, for having refus'd to pledge the Health of St. *Uldarick's Charity*; neither could he be well of that Sore, before he was carried to that Saint's Shrine, and had made a ſolemn Vow to him, never to refuſe to drink his *Charity* any

any more. Was not this Story a great encouragement to hard Drinking, which St. *Uldarick's Charity* is, in a Nation where Miracles need not be wrought to promote it?

A certain Extortioner, who had got a great Eſtate by unjuſt Gain, and who had not one good quality in him, beſides that of being much devoted to our Lady, and to her *Roſary*; having after his Death had his Good and Evil Works put into two Scales by St. *Michael*, his Good Works were weighed down ſo by his Evil, that he had periſhed immediately, if the bleſſed Virgin had not in time thrown a *heavy Roſary* into the Scale his Good Works were in; with which that Scale weighed down the other. This Miracle was deviſed to recommend the uſe of the *Roſary*, and which it could not but do, where, upon its Authority, the *Roſary* was believed to have the weight of many good Works in it, and ſo ſaving a Vertue. And St. *Tugullus* being ſaid to have killed the Devil, muſt have an ill influence on Religion with all that believe it.

Now if the Miracles I have here inſtanced in, be either too Uſeleſs, or too Impious, or too Ludicrous, or too Ungodly to be believed, as one would think they ſhould by all that dare examine them, it is the very ſame with all the other Miracles that are ſaid to be wrought in the *Roman* Church; which will all come under one of theſe Characters; neither

neither are any of them better atteſted than theſe are, that of the famous *Itinerant* Chapel of *Loretto* not excepted; no nor thoſe of ſome Saints after they were Beheaded, having taken their Heads up in their Hands, and run a conſiderable way with them.

As to the conſtant and ſtanding Miracles which are confidently affirmed to be in the *Roman* Church, were there nothing elſe to diſcredit all their reports of daily Tranſient Miracles, thoſe pretended ſtanding Miracles would alone be ſufficient to do it. Such are that of St. *John Baptiſt*, and of other Saints natural Heads, being whole and intire in divers Churches, and in which every one of them is ſaid to have wrought Miracles to demonſtrate its being the true Head. And that of the boiling up of our bleſſed Lord's Blood every *Good Friday* at *Marſeiles*, in the Bottle in which it was brought to that City by *Mary Magdalene*. And that of the Image of St. *Genoveve* being carried out in a Proceſſion, helping *Paris* and the Country about it to Rain, when it is much wanted; with twenty more ſuch pretended ſtanding Miracles; the managery of which Rarities, by thoſe which have the ſhewing of them, is ſo manifeſt, that I am told, that there is not a ſenſible diſintereſted *Roman* Catholick in *France* or *Italy*, whoſe Breaſt is not filled with Indignation to ſee the World ſo groſly impoſed on by Crews of Deceitful and Self-

Self-intereſted Men. Neither can the ill Conſequences which ſuch pious Frauds have on the Minds of thoſe that know them to be ſuch, and know nothing of any Religion beſides Popery, be ſufficiently lamented.

But ſo long as thoſe Frauds are to the great profit of thoſe that have the managery of them, believed by the Generality, and they that don't believe them dare not openly ſay a word againſt them; let what will be ſecretly the Conſequence of their being continu'd, they will be kept up and maintained in defiance of all Evidences of their being Frauds.

A yet farther Evidence that the Miracles which are ſaid to be wrought in the *Roman* Church ought not to be believed, is, That when Miracles are pretended to be wrought with never ſo great Confidence, to determine where the truth lies, in Controverſies among themſelves; thoſe bold Pretences are not only diſregarded by the ſide they are levelled againſt, but they are treated with the laſt Scorn and Contempt.

So in the long Controverſie which has been betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, concerning the *Immaculate Conception*, tho' hundreds of Miracles are ſaid to have been wrought to confirm the truth of that Doctrine, the *Dominicans*, by whom it is deny'd, do nevertheleſs ſtill ſtand their ground; neither are they more ſhaken in that their Oppoſi-

tion,

ſition, by thoſe loud reports of Miracles, than they would be if they were told by old Women, as wrought by the Queen of Fairies. It is true, in the early days of this Controverſie, the *Dominicans* gave out too, that they had Miracles wrought on their ſide, hoping by that means to have kept the *Franciſcan* Doctrine from having been ſpread by ſuch Reports. But the *Franciſcans* having now got all the other Popiſh Orders, and all the Univerſities, and all the Princes, and almoſt all the People too on their ſide; the *Dominicans* are afraid to make uſe of that Weapon againſt ſuch great Numbers; and ſo do complain of it as no lawful Weapon.

So in the Concluſion of *a Supplication* made not many Years ago by the *Dominicans*, it is ſaid, *Nec nos ad Apochriphas Apoſtolorum definitiones, ad confictas Revelationes, ad ſomniata Miracula, ad Bullas adulteratas, recurrimus. We have no recourſe to Apocriphal Apoſtolical Definitions, nor to feigned Revelations, nor to Dreams of Miracles, nor to ſpurious Bulls.* Plainly intimating, That their Adverſaries, in this Controverſie, had made uſe of all thoſe vile Arts; as in truth they had, and do ſtill, as much as ever.

To give here a ſhort Character of that Controverſie; that Side which pretends ſo many Miracles have been wrought for it, has a Cauſe the leaſt capable of being honeſtly

neſtly defended, of any that I ever knew in my whole Life; and which is therefore ſupported by the ſtrength of Numbers, and by ſhameleſs pretences to Miracles, to ſupply the want of other Evidences. And ſhould any be willing to know what it is that makes the *Dominicans* ſtand out thus againſt that *pious Opinion*, as it is called, in contradiction to the whole *Roman* Church almoſt? He may be truly told, That it is neither for that Doctrines being New, nor for its being Falſe; but the true reaſon of it is, that Doctrine was firſt deviſed by *Scotus*, who was a *Franciſcan* Friar; and in contradiction to *Thomas Aquinas*, the great Oracle and Idol of the *Dominican* Order. And as it was the honour of their Order that did firſt engage the *Dominicans* in that Oppoſition, ſo it is the ſame that ſtill holds them in it, though they are come to be great ſufferers by it, and which was not foreſeen before they were gone too far in that Controverſie, to retreat with Honour. For beſides that they have loſt the hearts of the People, who in moſt places are wonderfully devoted to that new Doctrine; they have loſt alſo all the Divinity Chairs in the Univerſities, and are rendred by it uncapable of taking Degrees in any of them, there being no Popiſh Univerſity at this time, which does not require a Subſcription to the truth of the *Immaculate*

Conception, from all, on whom they confer Degrees. But to return.

In that Schiſm in the Papacy, which laſted forty Years, though none of the Popes did pretend to prove their Title to the Chair of *Rome* by the working of Miracles; yet under their ſeveral Obediences, many Miracles were reported to have been wrought, for Teſtimonies of their being all true Biſhops of *Rome*, though that was not poſſible. But ſo little were thoſe Miracles believed or regarded, that none of thoſe Popes, when their Titles came to be all declared void by a Council, did think it worth their while to mention any of thoſe Miracles, which were ſaid to have been wrought in their favour. And in the late Wars betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Portugueſes*, abundance of Miracles were confidently reported by the latter to have been wrought both in *Europe*, and in the *Indies*, in confirmation of the Duke of *Braganza*'s Title to their Crown. But the *Spaniards* knowing full well, how little Credit ſuch Reports do deſerve, did ſcorn to take any notice of them. And though the People of *Portugal* did, and to this Day do believe all thoſe Miracles, yet the Court of *Portugal* never had the Courage once to mention any of them at *Rome*, to perſuade the Popes to favour their King's Title; though for ſix and twenty Years together they had uſed all the other Arguments they could think

of

of to have perſuaded them of it. And thus the Papiſts do teach Proteſtants to deſpiſe the moſt confident reports of Miracles being wrought among them; all reports of this kind, in diſputes among themſelves, though raiſed and ſpread with never ſo great Aſſurance, not being, by thoſe they fight againſt, judg'd worthy of the leaſt notice, unleſs it be either to deteſt the falſhood of the Deviſors, or to pity or laugh at the Credulity of all that believe them.

The laſt Evidence I ſhall produce of the Miracles which are ſaid to be wrought in the *Roman* Church not deſerving any regard, is, That moſt of them, and which are as well atteſted as the reſt, are by ſome Learned Papiſts acknowledged to be nothing but bold Lies and Impoſtures deviſed for one baſe end or another to deceive the People.

So *Lyranus*, in the Fourteenth Chapter of *Daniel*, ſaith, *Et ſimiliter aliquando fit in Eccleſia maxima deceptio Populi Miraculis fictis a Sacerdotibus, vel eis abhærentibus, propter Lucrum temporale. So likewiſe in the Church, the People are ſometimes very much deceived by Miracles which are forged by the Prieſts, or by their Adherents for worldly Lucre.*

And *Wicelius* in his Sermon on, *Believe not every Spirit*, ſaith *Hic non poſſum non flens teſtari, Ethnicos hac in re nobis olim fuiſſe cautiores, nos omnia hodie Miracula, atque a-*

deo Oracula, ſtatim recipimus, modo Lucri aliquid promittant. Here I cannot but teſtifie with Tears, that the Heathens were anciently more cautious in theſe matters, than we are; for at this time, we do preſently receive all Miracles, and ſo Oracles likewiſe, if they promiſe us any gain.

And *Schultingius* in his *Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſtica*, ſaith, *Vetus & juſta eſt hæc omnium Doctorum hominum querela, veritati Eccleſiaſticæ, tam multa admixta fuiſſe mendacia, quæ magnopere Fidem & Autoritatem ejus Hiſtoriæ elevant. It has been the ancient and juſt complaint of all Learned Men, that ſo many Lies have been mixed with Eccleſiaſtical Truth, as do very much weaken the Faith and Authority of that Hiſtory.* And among thoſe Lies he reckons the Story of the Emperor *Conſtantine the Great's Leproſie*, which together with its *miraculous Cure*, was the ground that Emperour's Donation of the City of *Rome* to the Pope ſtood upon: And which forged Donation was by the Popes made uſe of with good Succeſs to eſtabliſh their Authority in *Italy*; though it is now ſlighted by them, becauſe they do not ſtand in need of it, and becauſe its forgery is ſo palpable.

And *Carolus Guyetus*, a Jeſuit, in his third Book *de Feſtis*, ſaith, *Referta ſunt Apocryphis non pauca in pleriſque Eccleſiis olim; neſcio annon etiam nunc, in aliquibus uſitata. Anciently, not a few of the Offices in moſt Churches, were*

were filled with Apocryphal Stories, that is of Miracles, and which may, for any thing that I know, be used in some Churches still. And in the Fifth Chapter of the same Book he saith again, *Non inficior, multa in plerisque Sanctorum Legendis, quos vocant, reperire ludicra, absurda, & quod amplius est, a vero prorsus aliena, gravibusque imprimis parachronismis implicata. I do not deny, but that there may be many things,* meaning Miracles, *found in most of the Saints Legends, as they call them, which are ludicrous and absurd, and which is more, are palpably false, being involved in monstrous false Dates.*

Melchior Canus, the Learned Bishop of the *Canaries*, in his Eleventh Book *De Locis Theologicis,* makes the following heavy complaint of the Miracles which are reported to be wrought in the *Roman* Church, *Dolenter hoc dico, potius quam contumeliosè, multo a Laertio severius vitas Philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis vitas Sanctorum; longeque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum & Confessorum. Illi enim in probis, aut Philosophis, aut Principibus, nec vitia nec suspiciones vitiorum tacent, in improbis etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri autem plerique vel affectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque, ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum, non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat. In illo enim,*

Miraculorum monſtra ſæpius quam vera Miracula legas; hanc auream ſc. Legendam homo ſcripſit, ferrei oris, plumbei cordis, animi certe parum ſeveri & prudentis. I ſay this with ſorrow, rather than contumeliouſly, that the Lives of the Philoſophers are written by Laertius *with more ſtrictneſs than the Lives of the Saints are by Chriſtians; and the Hiſtories of the* Cæſars *are ſet forth by* Suetonius *with more Integrity and Incorruption than the Hiſtories, I do not ſay of Emperors, but of Martyrs, Virgins, and Confeſſors, are publiſhed by Catholicks. For in the Good, whether Philoſophers or Emperours, they do not conceal their Vices, nor the ſuſpicions of Vices: And in the Bad, they take notice even of the colours of Vertues; whereas moſt of ours ſerving their affections do feign ſo many things, that I am not only aſhamed of them, but am ſick with them.* And ſpeaking of the *Golden Legend*, he ſaith, *In it monſters of Miracles are read for the moſt part rather than true Miracles.* And as to the Author on that Miraculous Hiſtory, he ſaith, *He was a Man of an Iron Mouth, and of a Leaden Heart, and of a Mind of very little Strictneſs or Prudence.*

Now till the *Roman* Church can ſhew us, that ſome of the Miracles which are ſaid to be wrought in her, are better atteſted than the bulk of them is, by the Confeſſion of ſo many of her own Learned Members; ſhe has no reaſon to be angry with Proteſtants for

believ-

believing them to be all alike; that is, bold Lies and Impoſtures impoſed upon the credulity of Ignorant and Superſtitious People.

Now, is it not well for the *Roman* Church, as I have elſewhere obſerved, that ſhe has great Wealth, Authority, and Splendor, to beget and maintain a Reverence for her: Since were it not for thoſe dazling Advantages, her ſhameleſs Falſhood in deviſing Miracles, and her People's ſcandalous Credulity in believing them, together with her Images, and Proceſſions; and her Treaſures of Relicks and Indulgences, and her monſtrous Legends; would certainly with all thinking Men, make her the moſt deſpicable, and ridiculous Sect of Religion in the whole World. And as the *Roman* Church's Beauty is all without, ſo let her Members be but in Countries where their Eyes are not dazled with it, or where they are not fed continually by Friars, with freſh Stories of Miracles being wrought by one Image, or Saint, or another, and of the great Vertue of ſome Relicks, or of ſome other Superſtitious Utenſils, in a ſhort time their Religion is loſt, and they do with much Eaſe go over to that of the Country where they are: And tho' to prevent ſuch Apoſtacies, the *Roman* Church has an Order of Friars, whoſe buſineſs it is to ranſom all her Members, who are Captives among Infidels; and which Captives, tho' very ſeldom with any of the Pope's Money, are commonly ran-

ſom'd by them once in three or four Years; there are neverthelefs in *Barbary*, and in *Turkey* more Renegado's of the *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Portugueſe* Nations, than of all other Weſtern Chriſtian Countries beſides; notwithſtanding more *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are taken by thoſe Infidels, and are kept longer by them in Slavery, than any Popiſh Captives does expect, or needs to be detain'd. But tho' theſe Friars, who are the Trinitarians, do go as Merchants into *Barbary* with Money to ranſom the Captives of their ſeveral Nations, they are the only Friars that go thither, and who when they are there, do not ſay one Word to the Renegadoes, nor to no other *Mahometans* about the changing of their Religion; and indeed, conſidering how near *Barbary* is to *Spain*, and that on the Sea Coaſt moſt of its Inhabitants do underſtand, and ſpeak *Spaniſh* well, none of the *Roman* Miſſionaries ever offering to look into that neighbouring Region of Infidels, does not a little diſcredit their boaſting, *That, of all Provinces none are ſo earneſtly ſought after by the Miſſionaries as thoſe are, where they know their Lives will be expoſed to the moſt Danger.* For it is well known, that Miſſionaries can go no where, where they will be ſo certain of meeting with that Reward for their Labours, which, they ſay, they deſire ſo much; as in *Barbary*, which is at their Doors.

And

And is it not the ſame with Proteſtant Countries; for tho' *England*, *Ireland*, and *Holland*, are full of *Romiſh* Prieſts and Friars, becauſe in all of them there are many rich People of their Religion, to harbour and entertain them. *Sweeden*, and *Denmark*, in which it is known they will not meet with thoſe Conveniencies, do ſeldom or never ſee any. And in the *Indies*, the great Scene of their boaſtings, they do ſeldom go any farther than the *Portugueſe* or *Spaniſh* Arms or Intereſt, do reach to cover them: Or if any of them do go farther, they go as Mathematicians, rather than Miſſionaries, and by complying with the Religious Rites of the Natives, do ſeem rather to have turned Heathens themſelves, than to have done any thing towards the converting of the *Indians* to Chriſtianity.

It is true, whilſt they were protected by ſome Princes in *Japan*, they had made a great Progreſs in that *Empire*; but when all Chriſtians came to be baniſh'd out of it upon Pain of Death, as few of the *Roman* Miſſionaries did remain there, ſo few or none of them have ever looked into it ſince. And it appears from the *Japan* Martyrology, printed at *Rome*, that the much greater part of the Chriſtians, which are ſaid to have ſuffered Death there, were *Japanees* Converts; moſt of the *European* Miſſionaries having either got away, or hid themſelves; ſo that

of

of the *Portugueſe* Nation, to whom that Miſſion belonged, and who by their having been diſcovered at work to put the Sea-ports of that Empire into the hands of their Country-men, had raiſed that Perſecution; not above three or four are ſaid to have ſuffered Death for their Religion by the hands of publick Juſtice. The reſt of the *Europeans* that ſuffered, having been *Italians* and *Spaniards*, and who though they were more in Number than the *Portugueſes*, who ſuffered Death, yet were not many; though we ſhould be ſo civil to them in *Europe*, as to believe all their reports concerning that Perſecution. For as I have elſewhere obſerved, when any *Spaniſh*, *French*, or *Italian* Miſſionaries have gone into the *Eaſt-Indies*, for the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* will not ſuffer any of them to go into the *Weſt*, tho' there is work enough there for all that can go; the *Portugueſe* Prelates to whom the conduct of the *Eaſt-India* Miſſions was committed, were ſo civil to thoſe Strangers, as contrary to the cuſtom in War, to give them always the Poſts of Honour, contenting themſelves with the Miſſions which did promiſe the moſt Profit, and did appear to have the leaſt Danger.

But as the great and general end for which the *Roman* Church allows and authorizes the reports of ſo many Miracles being wrought in her, is by them to keep her People under

der an abſolute bondage of Thought in all Matters of Religion : So the Authors of ſuch Reports have likewiſe their own private ends in them, having in their Eye either their *Own*, or their *Orders*, or their *Countries* Profit or Honour. And this is ſo viſible to all that live among them, and obſerve how ſuch Matters are managed, that there is no room left for to doubt of it.

For as in moſt Rich and Populous Popiſh Cities and Towns, there is but one Image of our Lady, at a time, that has the great vogue of working Miracles; and by which Fame the Convent that has it, is in a ſhort time ſtrangely enriched; ſo the Inquiſitors, with the Ordinary in Name, having now got the giving and eſtabliſhing of that miraculous Fame into their Gift, they do commonly ſettle it in the place which can make the beſt Friends to them. And as moſt Convents, and eſpecially thoſe that are Poor, do labour hard after it, ſo to qualifie themſelves to receive it, if the Inquiſitors ſhould be pleaſed to beſtow it upon them, they have all Miracles, which have been wrought by their ſeveral Images laid up in ſtore againſt that happy Hour; and which if there ſhould be that occaſion for it, will have as many Vouchers for their truth, as there are Monks or Friars in the Convent, and People much devoted to that Image.

And of the Convents having this profitable Fame, as it were intailed upon them, to the Excluſion of all the Images in Pariſh Churches, I have heard more than one Pariſh Prieſt complain, exaggerating it as a great Wrong done to the Seculars, who they ſaid are of St. *Peter*'s Order, by the Regulars, who had leſſer Saints for their Founders.

Having gone one Day with the Envoy of *England*, to ſee the Church of St. *Loio* near *Lisbon*, the Rector ſhewed us a Tomb-Stone, under which he ſaid there laid a great Saint of that Houſe, who ſince his Death had wrought many Miracles. And being asked by the Envoy, *Whether he had been Canonized*; he ſaid, *He had not*; *but that their Order had long endeavoured to have had it done*; *and that it had coſt the Convent ſo much Money, that they were not able to go on with the new Buildings which they had begun.* And the Envoy ſeeming to wonder at that, the Prior ſaid, very honeſtly, *Were he but once Canonized, we ſhould be reimburſed with Intereſt.*

The pretended Revelations made to ſome weak, or diſtempered Women; for to that Sex the new Revelations in the *Roman* Church are ſaid commonly to be given; are likewiſe an Engine that Church makes great uſe of to bring her Peoples Minds under an abſolute Bondage to her. Such were the Revelations of *Bridget*, *Catharine* of *Sienna*, *Tereſa*,

Tereſa, but above all, of *Maria de Jeſus*, who lived in this Age. Which Revelations, though they do all labour under the ſame Evidences of their being Impoſtures, with that Church's Miracles, yet being univerſally believed by the People, they have the ſame Effects on their Minds, as if they were true; and are entertained by them as undeniable Proofs of the Doctrines taught or profeſſed by the Perſons who had thoſe Revelations. Neither is this the only Advantage, though it is a great one, that the *Roman* Church receives from her now and then giving Countenance to ſuch pretended new Revelations: For by this ſingle Art, ſhe has, among Ignorant and Enthuſiaſtical People, acquired the unjuſt Reputation of encouraging a ſublime, inward, ſpiritual Worſhip; and of having in her Communion the Means by which ſuch a Worſhip may be arrived at. The Women who were reported to have had thoſe new Revelations, being repreſented to the World as Perſons of a Seraphical Devotion, and which is highly extolled in the Books which are written and publiſhed under thoſe Womens Names. So you ſhall ſcarce meet with an Enthuſiaſt in any Sect of Religion, that have read any of thoſe Books, who is not brought by them to have a more favourable Opinion of the *Roman* Church, than they would otherwiſe have had; either not knowing, or not conſidering, that though the

the *Roman* Church does for this End now and then ſuffer myſtical Divinity, and the magnifying of an Internal and Spiritual Way of Worſhip in Perſons ſhut up in a Cloiſter, under the Managery of a cunning Confeſſor; yet that there is not any thing that Church ſets her ſelf ſo much to hinder, as the prevailing of that way of Worſhip; being ſenſible, that the dead bodily Performances in Worſhip, out of which the main of her Profits do ariſe, would be all ſlighted and laid aſide, if an inward Spiritual Worſhip did once obtain among her People, as the moſt acceptable to God. And of this the ſevere Treatment the *Illuminado*'s met with in *Spain* in the laſt Age; and the *Quietiſt*, namely, Father *Michael Molina*, and the Biſhop of *Cambray* met with in this from the Pope and his Inquiſitors, is an undeniable Proof.

Now how ſuch new Revelations, and the Perſons who were ſaid to have had them, and the Books which are publiſhed under their Names, and are managed by the Pope and his Agents thus to their double Advantage, will I think, manifeſtly appear, from a late famous Sample I will give of them all, in an Appendix to this Treatiſe.

Here it will not, I believe, be unpleaſant to obſerve, how much diſtracted the Popes are, betwixt the Reproach they find lying on them by reaſon of miraculous Reports; and their Intereſt to allow and ſupport them.

Urban

Urban the VIIIth endeavoured to have ſplit this Hair, by having in the Year 1625, in the Congregation of the *Roman* Univerſal Inquiſition, prohibited the Printing of Books containing the *Acts*, *Miracles*, or *Revelations* of any that had been eminent for Sanctity, or that had the Fame of having been Martyrs, without the Recognition and Approbation of the Ordinary: Declaring, That Books publiſhed without that, ſhould not be reckon'd to be approved of. And which Decree was in the Year 1633, ſo explained by the ſame Pope, as to prohibit the Elogies of Saints, or of any that are beatified, which do fall abſolutely on their *Perſons*, to be publiſhed, without a Proteſtation of the Author's, printed in the beginning of the Book, declaring thoſe Elogies not to have any Authority from the *Roman Church*, but to have their Authority only from their Authors. And where it is ſaid, That this Prohibition ſhall not extend to Miraculous Elogies, ſo far as they relate to *Manners*, or to *Opinions*.

Now as this Decree plainly ſhews the Popes not to be very eaſy under the Scandal of miraculous Reports, and that they would, if it were poſſible ſhake and ward it off; ſo it ſhews likewiſe, that that is not to be done, but by a Courſe which the Popes will never take, which is to prohibit all ſuch Reports. For as this Decree leaves the Legends of the *Roman* Church where they were before, they having

having been all printed with the Recognition and Licenſe of Ordinaries; and as all the Books were, in which the Miracles are recorded, which I have here quoted; ſo it has left two wide Doors open for all ſuch miraculous Reports; to wit, that of *Manners*, and that of *Opinions*. Neither are thoſe which do fall only on Mens Perſons, forbid to be raiſed or talked of as they were before, no nor to be printed neither, provided they have the above-mentioned Proteſtation before them, and which Proteſtation ſignifies nothing with Legendary Readers, by whom all Relations of Miracles and Viſions are ſwallowed down greedily, upon the bare Authority, which their being printed gives them; beſides, the Ordinaries, or their Deputies do ſeldom or never deny their Licenſes, when they are deſired, to any ſuch Stories; reckoning, that whether they be true or falſe, being believed, they will ſtrengthen the Faith, and increaſe the Devotion of their Flocks. Lying for GOD, who neither wants it, nor deſires it, having never been any way reckoned ſo meritorious as it is in the Church of *Rome*.

Now next after Intereſt, it is to the belief of this Practice's being lawful, that the Church of *Rome* does owe her immenſe Treaſure of monſtrous lying Signs and Wonders; and which, though they are known to be Lies, not only by their firſt Deviſors, but by all ſince

ſince that have impartially conſidered them, are notwithſtanding, upon this Foot, ſupported by falſe Reaſons, and Inquiſition Arguments as pious Frauds, that do produce good Effects.

So all that know the Evidences that are of the Story of the *Itinerant* Chapel of *Loretto* being falſe, and yet don't for all that believe this to be its Caſe, muſt if they don't diſſemble, have got the convenient Faculty of believing, or not believing what they have a mind to: Or if ſuch a Faculty be not poſſible, as I don't think it is, they muſt then needs reckon, that their not ſuffering themſelves actually to disbelieve any thing, is to believe it. And ſo that which they call Belief in ſuch Caſes, is purely that Act of their Will, whereby their Underſtandings, ſince they cannot believe as they would have them, is powerfully with-held, from acting at all.

And that the Popes having put this Matter under this Regulation, has given no great Check to the Itch of reporting and printing ſuch Miracles; appears manifeſtly from the Lives of *Santa Roſa*, and of divers other Saints, which have been printed ſince the making of this Decree. And which new Lives are as full of Reports, of abſurd and ridiculous Miracles, as the Golden Legend it ſelf is. Neither indeed, conſidering how ſuch Reports are many times ſupported with

great Heat and Violence by whole Orders of Monks and Friars, and ſometimes by Princes or great Cities, for one ſecular End or another, is it poſſible for the Popes without abſolutely condemning all ſuch Reports, and which none of them will ever do, to bring the Printing of them under ſuch a Government, as they for their Honour would gladly have them under.

However, the Popes finding that they cannot have the Advantages of Reports of Miracles, without having the Scandal of them too; rather than have neither, they will have both; and ſo having done ſomething, that with unthinking People, will look like a Reſtraint, ſuch Reports go on with as full a Gale as ever. And ſo they will in ſpite of all Prohibitions, where ever Image-Worſhip is, and which is therefore called in the Scriptures *a Lye*; for having ſuch *Lyes* as theſe are in all Places, *Popiſh* as well as *Pagan*, for its Supporters. And for this Reaſon Pope *Urban* out of his great Kindneſs for Images, did take care by this Decree not to lay any Reſtraint on the Miracles which are daily reported to be wrought by them; being ſenſible that Image-Worſhip, in the *Popiſh*, as well as in the *Heathen* World, owes its Riſe and Continuance chiefly to ſuch Reports. For had Men never been ſo far deluded as to believe ſome Images to have a Power in them, however they came by it, ſupe-

ſuperiour to human Power, they would never have ſtooped ſo low as to have worſhipped them.

So *Cyrus* adored and worſhipped his Idol *Bell* every Day, whilſt he believed that Image did every Day eat twelve great Meaſures of fine Flower, and forty Sheep, and did every Day drink ſix Veſſels of Wine. But when that King came to underſtand the Report of his Idol's eating and drinking to be a Cheat, he left it, as an unprofitable piece of Wood, to its Enemy *Daniel* to deſtroy; and they who had eat and drank ſo long for it, were all ſlain for their Impoſture. And ſo though it may not perhaps be unlawful to have Images in the Place of Prayer, *as Books* or *Memorials* only, it is certainly very dangerous. A reverence for Images on the account of the Perſons whom they repreſent, being apt to ſlide inſenſibly into a Diſpoſition to adore them; and by which Diſpoſition, Stories of their extraordinary Works will eaſily be believed. And for this Reaſon in the Scriptures, *a Molten Image*, is called *a Teacher of Lyes*, deviſed of a great in-dwelling Power in it, by its *Demetrius*'s to encourage its Worſhip; and of which Men would otherwiſe be aſhamed, as of a thing infinitely below the Dignity of their Nature.

By theſe Means it is that the Unlearned in the *Roman* Church are held under that abſolute Bondage of Thought in all Matters of

Religion, which keeps them from ever coming to the Knowledge of her Anti-Chriſtianiſm.

And as to the learned Men of that Church, whoſe Learning lies in the Scriptures, and in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, if that Anti-chriſtianiſm be not viſible to them; I know not to what to impute that, unleſs it be either to their Minds, being blinded by ſtrong Carnal Prejudices; or to their being viſited with a Judicial Spiritual Blindneſs, becauſe they receive not the Love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved; having ſhut their Eyes againſt it, that they might not ſee it.

But if ſuch learned Men do by their Studies come to the Knowledge of the Truth, as we have Reaſon to believe moſt of them do; and yet do, notwithſtanding that, continue ſtill in the Communion of the *Roman* Church; ſince Charity will not allow us to impute that, to their being of no Religion, and that they do therefore ſtick cloſe to the Profeſſion of Popery, from which they do hope to reap the greateſt earthly Advantages, tho' that is known to have been the Caſe of ſome of their Popes, and the Court of *Rome* has long been ſuſpected of having the Spots of the Plague of Irreligion upon it; ſome other Cauſe muſt be found for that Behaviour; neither are we at a Loſs to find one in Fact: Which is, that thoſe learned Men, tho' they are ſenſible of the Errors and Corruptions

ruptions which are in the *Roman* Church, and do wiſh heartily they were all reformed, yet knowing at the ſame Time, that Church's great Power, and how inflexibly obſtinate ſhe is made by her Pretence to Infallibility, they are afraid that cannot be done, without bringing the Affairs of Religion, and of the World, into great Diſorders. For fear of which they endeavour to work their Minds into a Belief that thoſe Errors and Corruptions, tho' they are great, yet may not be of ſo damnable a Nature, but that they may be ſaved in the Communion of a Church they are in; and in which they continue only as in a leſſer Evil, fearing leſt a Remedy, if it were applied to them, might by reaſon of that Church's great Averſion to it, prove worſe than the Diſeaſe.

And as the learned Father *Paul* is known to have been kept in this manner in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, ſo I have been told by a very learned Man, and who knew *France* well, that this is actually the Caſe of moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Antiquaries in that Nation. Neither indeed can any read the Writings of moſt of thoſe learned Men, without obſerving their Pulſe to beat ſtrong that way.

But as thoſe Fears, conſidering the Greatneſs of the Popiſh Errors and Corruptions, can by no means juſtifie thoſe learned Men not coming out of her; ſo it is too probable,

that were it not for the Conveniencies which they do enjoy, or do hope for, in that corrupted, but rich Church, thoſe Fears alone would not be ſtrong enough to hold them long in her Communion; ſeeing they might, without raiſing Diſturbances either in Church or State, retire to Proteſtant Countries, where they might ſerve God according to their Conſciences. The Caſe of ſuch learned Men in the *Roman* Church, being now nothing ſo hard as it was before the Reformation: and that their Caſe might be yet eaſier, it were to be wiſhed, that they had the Encouragement of being ſure to meet with a kind and civil Reception, in all Proteſtant Countries; and of being conſidered in them according to their Worth, without any Abatement, on the Account of their being Foreigners, or of their having been once Papiſts. For as none ought to be tempted only by worldly Views to turn Proteſtants, and of which conſidering the *Roman* Churches great Wealth, and numberleſs high Preferments, there can be no very great Danger; ſo none ought to be diſcouraged from doing it, by having no Reaſon to hope, that if they did turn, they ſhould be regarded among us according to their Learning, and other Merits. And tho' the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* might not perhaps be ſo honeſt, as he was learned; yet if any by envying him his Preferments in our Church, did make him uneaſy

eaſy in her, I hope they repented of it, if they lived to ſee the ill Conſequences of that unhappy Prelate's having returned to *Rome*, where his Heart was quickly diſcovered, by the ſharp-ſighted, and mercileſs Inquiſitors, not to be with them, but to be ſtill in our Church; and were likewiſe ſenſible how great a Diſcouragement that was to others of Learning, or of any Figure to come over to us. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that all ſuch learned Men, had among us, at leaſt a Place to retreat to, where they would be ſure of a comfortable Subſiſtance; and not to be left for that to the wide World. And were there a conſiderable Fund to be apply'd to the Uſe of Converting Papiſts, and for the Subſiſtance of Converts from Popery, until they were otherwiſe provided for; as there is now, praiſed be God for it, for the Uſe of Converting Infidels; I doubt not but our Church would, in a ſhort time, find the good Effects of that Charity. And great Pity it was that the Deſign of this kind, relating to the *Greek* Church, which I have been told was ſet on foot by the Apoſtolical and Noble Biſhop of *London*, whoſe Palace has always been the *Aſylum* of all Converts, did not meet with due Encouragement.

For whatever any may think, or preſume upon their having the Truth on their Side; ſo long as Proteſtants ſtand only on the Defenſive, againſt a zealous, powerful, and

indefatigable Enemy, with a wealthy and politick Congregation eſtabliſhed for the Propagation of Popery, they muſt needs, without a Miracle, be ſtill loſing ground. Neither is it eaſy to reconcile a due zeal for our Church, with a no concern for the Propagating of her Doctrines; which being the ſame with thoſe of the Apoſtles, have been all confirmed by the Apoſtolical Miracles, and ſo do ſtand in no need of any pretences of new Miracles being wrought to further their Propagation; no nor of nothing elſe, but only of the zealous Endeavours of the Princes and Nations by which they are profeſſed; among which, if it were but an univerſal and ſtanding Law, to allow Papiſts all the ſame, but no more Liberties, than are allowed to Proteſtants in Popiſh Countries; by that means they would either procure more Liberty for Proteſtants abroad, or they would receive leſs hurt from Papiſts at home. And than this, can any Rule be more juſt and equal? Only in one thing God forbid that Proteſtants ſhould ever uſe *Lex Talionis* with Papiſts, which is to ſet up Inquiſitions, unleſs the Papiſts will pull theirs down.

But above all, it were to be wiſhed, That the glory of being the *Head* and *Protector* of the *Whole Proteſtant Religion*, and which *Headſhip* devolves it ſelf naturally on the Crown of *England*, were by all the Princes that wear that Crown, looked on as its

Richeſt

Richeſt and Brighteſt Jewel. It was reckoned to be ſo by the happy Queen *Elizabeth*, and it is the ſame now with our preſent moſt Gracious, and happy Sovereign; and on both whoſe Reigns, it has drawn from Heaven ſo many extraordinary and diſtinguiſhing Bleſſings, as are ſufficient to recommend it ſo powerfully to all their Proteſtant Succeſſors, as to oblige them to be *SEMPER EADEM*, or *Idem* to it; to the great Glory of God, to the Advancement of his holy Religion, and to the immortal Honour of the Crown of *England*, which without this great Jewel, can never be ſo Illuſtrious, nor make that great Figure in the World, that it does when it is adorned with it. And as it will always ſecure to our Princes the Hearts of their People, ſo it will make *England* the Praiſe of all Proteſtant, and a Terror to all Popiſh Governments; which have ſo long, and in ſo many parts, contrary to their Laws and Oaths, and the Faith of publick Treaties, trampled on the Reformation, without being controuled. And were Proteſtants, with their Divine and Reaſonable Service, and with ſuch a *Head* on Earth, all of one Mind in all Things; or if that cannot be, yet were all ſo united in Heart and Affection, as to forbear one another in Love; and were likewiſe all duly zealous for the Propagation of their Religion, Popery would no more be able to ſtand before the Proteſtant Worſhip, than

Dagon

Dagon was to ſtand before the Ark of the Living God: Idolatry being a Worſhip of too abſurd and vile a Nature, to have any thing of a vital Strength in it ſelf; and being entirely upheld by Ignorance, Lies, and Force, muſt, if thoſe its Props were once removed, neceſſarily tumble down; and which Props, Proteſtants, if they were thus Headed, United, and Diſpoſed, would find it no hard work to remove, and as thereby the Chriſtian Worſhip would be brought to look every where like it ſelf again, ſo were that once done, it would go far towards the reconciling of the *Jews* and *Mahometans* to it; in whoſe way to Chriſt, the Adoration of Images has long been an inſuperable Stumbling Block; and to the latter, and greateſt of which Two Sects, the introduction of Images into the Chriſtian Church, and the Lies by which they were introduced, and came to be adored, did viſibly give riſe, and has ever ſince kept it in countenance.

Not that I will deny, That the common Herd of Pagans, were with the more eaſe brought to be Chriſtians, ſuch as they were, by the Chriſtians having drawn them over to them inſenſibly, by taking up ſeveral of their Uſages in Worſhip; namely, the two of adoring Images, and praying to more than one Being. But notwithſtanding that, conſidering how contrary thoſe two Heatheniſh

theniſh Uſages are, to the firſt Principles of that Worſhip which God did reveal to the World in the holy Scriptures. As that Oeconomy can by no means be juſtified, ſo it was certainly with all thinking People, a very great Diſadvantage to the Chriſtian Worſhip; by whom nothing in the revealed Religion was ſo much admired, as its teaching that there is but One God, and that God only is to be worſhipped, and that in Spirit and in Truth, and not with Peoples Bodies only, and in Images; which have Lies always for their inſeparable Companions. And ſince for that Reaſon, an Idol in the Scripture is called a Lye, it is not improbable, that our Lord's meaning when he commanded his Followers to worſhip God in Truth, might be, That they muſt not worſhip God by Images; whoſe Worſhip where-ever it is, was firſt introduced, and is ſtill ſupported by Lies of their having wrought Miracles; and which Lies being believed by their Worſhippers, do inſpire them with a moſt furious Zeal againſt all that ſhall dare to deſpiſe their Miracle-working Idols. So *Micah* when he was robbed of his Images, was tranſported ſo, that he ſeemed to be robbed of his Wits too. And the People of *Epheſus*, if Saint *Paul* had ſet their City on Fire, could not have been in a greater Rage againſt him, than that was they were thrown into, by *Demetrius*'s telling them, That Apoſtle had ſpoke againſt their Image,

of

of the Goddeſs *Diana*; which Image did owe its Birth, and its being univerſally worſhipped, to the Legendary Lye, of its having come, ready made, down from Heaven.

And ſo according to the words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, ſpeaking of Image-Worſhippers, *They feed of Aſhes, a deceived Heart hath turned them aſide, that they cannot deliver their Souls; nor ſay, Is there not a Lye on our right Hand.* Their Hearts being ſo wretchedly deceived by the belief of the Miracles which are ſaid to have been wrought by their Right-hand, or deareſt Idol, as to turn aſide, and muzzle their Underſtanding ſo, that no Arguments that would deliver their Souls out of the vile bondage of Thought they are in, are able to reach them, ſo as to bring them to ſay, What a low and contemptible thing is this, which is by Lies put into my Right hand to worſhip.

For which reaſon the ſame Prophet did call upon all that worſhipped Images, *To remember, that they are Men*; plainly intimating, as if that alone would be ſufficient to cure them of all Inclinations to Idolatry, making them aſhamed of a thing, which is ſo much below the Dignity of their Nature.

In fine, If God were pleaſed to be working Miracles continually, why he ſhould not work them by Men or Women, rather than by Images? and by the Living rather than by

by the Dead? and in Publick, rather than in dark Corners? are queſtions not eaſily to be anſwered by the Champions of Image-Worſhip; as it is not eaſy for them to ſhew, That there can poſſibly be a higher Worſhip given to any thing, worſhipping it as an Image, than a *Relative Latria*. Or that there ever was any where elſe, half ſo many Reports of Miracles having been wrought by Images, as there are in the *Roman* Church; or that any People were ever brought under a more perfect bondage of Thought, in all Matters relating to Religion by ſuch Reports, than that Church's Sheep are: And by which bondage of Thought, notwithſtanding her manifold and manifeſt Errors and Corruptions, ſhe keeps them in her Fold.

The End of the Second Tract.

THE

LIFE

OF

Maria de Jesus

OF

AGREDA,

A Late Famous

Spanish Nun.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE following Account is that I promiſed in the foregoing Tract, for a freſh Example of the new pretended Revelations, wherewith the Roman Church *inchants the beſt of her People in her corrupt Communion. I gathered it out of the Life of* Maria de Jeſus, *the late famous* Spaniſh *Nun, written at large by* Joſeph Zimenez Samaniego, *a* Franciſcan *Friar, and which is printed before the Life of the bleſſed Virgin, ſaid to have been writ by that Nun by Revelation. Theſe two Lives are printed with the ſingular Licenſe, Approbation, and Applauſe of Superiours.*

I have all through that Account made the beſt Remarks I was able on the paſſages in it, which I thought deſerved any, and ſo have but one to make in this Place; which is, That it is hard to determine which is moſt monſtrous, the Fore-heads and Conſciences of the Men that write ſuch Romances, and of thoſe who do Licenſe, Approve, and Applaud them, on purpoſe to put them on the World for true Hiſtories; or the Weakneſs and Stupidity of thoſe who do,

to their great Coſt, without any Scruple or Heſitation, believe them. The Boldneſs and the Falſhood of the one, deſerving the Indignation; and the Tameneſs and Credulity of the other the Pity of all Mankind; to whoſe common Nature, as low and corrupt as it is, they are, in their ſeveral ways, both ſhameful Indignities.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

Maria de Jesus, &c.

MARIA *de* JESUS, the late Famous *Spanish* Nun, was born in *Agreda*, a Town in old *Castile*, in the Year 1602: Her Father's Name was *Francisco Coronel*, her Mothers *Cathalina d' Arana*; they were both of good Blood; and being very much devoted to the blessed Virgin, though they were several times very near having been married to other Persons, they were, by the Queen of Angels, brought together, to be the happy Parents of the Woman that was to have the honour of being that Queens *Biographer*, or, *The Writer of her Life.* They had in all eleven Children, but four only lived to be Men and Women, two Sons, and two Daughters, of which *Mary* was the elder.

Whilſt *Mary* was an Infant, and not capable of being taught any thing by her Parents, that ſhe might loſe no time, God was pleaſed to conſtitute himſelf her Schoolmaſter, with prodigious Favours. Her Underſtanding ſoon after ſhe was born was illuſtrated by divine Lights, which of a ſudden gave a Capacity to that Faculty; a force to her Will, and a retention to her Memory. Inſomuch that ſhe ſaw plainly, there was one principal Cauſe of all Cauſes. All humane Miſeries were likewiſe clearly ſeen by her, to the forming in her Soul a very low conceit of her ſelf. She then proceeded to know humane Nature in its firſt ſtate of Innocency, and the beauty and effects of Grace. At laſt ſhe ſaw the deſtruction which Sin had brought on Men, with the turpitude and horrid effects of that Evil.

This Knowledge in her tender Underſtanding, for ſhe was not yet a Year old, was accompanied with ſtrong affections in her Will; for ſhe was ſo captivated by the beauty of the infinite divine Goodneſs, that ſhe worſhipped the infinite divine Majeſty with the humbleſt adoration of her whole Soul; and by the Knowledge ſhe had of her ſelf, and of her own natural Miſery, ſhe ſunk down to the centre of her own Nothingneſs. This was the firſt Leſſon ſhe was taught by her divine Maſter, and which ſhe had learned perfectly, long before ſhe was capable of learning her Letters.

When

When ſhe came to hear and ſee Things, Viſion ceaſed with her, ſo ſhe ſtept down from paſſive Teaching to her Senſes, and to the exerciſe of them: And making uſe of the Species of Light which ſhe had received by Viſion, and of the natural Things which had entred by her Senſes, ſhe began to diſcourſe inwardly, and had in her mind the perfect uſe of Reaſon. She had thereupon infuſed into her the knowledge of all the Articles of Faith ſhe was to believe, and of all the Commandments of the Law of Grace, and of the holy Church which was undoubtedly the *Roman*. And withal ſo great a knowledge of natural Cauſes, that ſhe made a Ladder, and by that Ladder went up to their Creator. And having the firſt time ſhe lifted up her Eyes, looked up to Heaven, ſhe ſaid, to her ſelf, I ſuppoſe, for ſhe could not ſpeak yet, with a devout tenderneſs, *This is the Houſe and the Habitation of the Lord, whom I know, and whom my Soul loves, how rich and beautiful is it, O magnify its Builder!*

The Edifice of the ſpiritual Life being to be raiſed to a great height in this Child, who was to be the *Biographer* of the Queen of Heaven; it was neceſſary to have its Foundations laid low, and ſtrongly cemented by Afflictions; to that End, God for ſome Years did hide himſelf from *Mary*, withdrawing the Regalo's and Joys of his

Presence, with which he had entertain'd her, thro' her Infancy; neither did those Joys ever return to her, till a few Days after she had taken upon her the Habit of a Nun.

Upon this spiritual Desertion, which *Mary* looked on as a Judgment upon her, for having by some way or other offended God, she continued extreamly dejected; until by a Divine Light, and by Afflictions she was taught to seek after Heavenly Joys by Faith. She avoided all Company, and finding no Rest nor Comfort, but in Retirement, she hid her self in solitary Places; all earthly Entertainments, tho' never so Innocent, made her Melancholy, idle Conversations struck her Dumb; and Laughter was a thing she could not bear.

Her Parents, which is very strange, tho' they were both pretty much in the spiritual Way, having all this while never observ'd any thing in their Daughter that was Extraordinary, besides a wonderful depression and lowness of Spirit; they were both extreamly troubled at it, and looking on *Mary* as a Child, that would never be good for any thing, they used to say one to another, *What, shall we do with this Creature, she will never be fit for the World, nor for Religion?* So artfully had the Child, out of her profound Humility, concealed her great Knowledge and Devotion from her Parents;

who

who being utter ſtrangers to her inſide, reſolved for the future to treat her with great Severity, to try if they could bring her to any thing. After this, they were ſtill chiding the Child with great Sharpneſs, neither did they ever look upon her but with Diſdain. By the Friar's leave, that writ this Romance, this was no proper method to cure a Child of an exceſſive Lowneſs and Dejection of Mind; but this is not to be wonder'd at, no Romances being ſo full of ſuch Blunders, as the Lives of the Popiſh Saints, whoſe dull, tho' cunning Authors, to the great Diſparagement of their Hero's with all Judicious People, do many times relate very improper things of them.

The ſpiritual Deſertion *Mary* was under, and the ſevere treatment ſhe met with from her Parents, not being judged Affliction enough, to lay and cement a Foundation for ſo high a ſpiritual Edifice; ſhe was viſited with ſo many painful Diſeaſes and Infirmities, that ſhe never had an hour's Reſt. And being looked on by the whole Family as a Creature that gave them much Trouble, and was never like to be good for any thing, ſhe had daily Contempt pour'd upon her by the Servants; all which ſhe bore with Patience, but eſpecially after a Voice, upon her once having had a little Reſentment, having ſaid to her, *Mary, I have ſuffered more for you.*

Her Parents, tho' they had no encouragement to beſtow any Pains or Coſt upon her, yet being Conſcientious People, they did not wholly neglect her Education, ſo they had her taught to Read, and put her to Schools to learn every thing that was proper for her Age and Sex: But tho' at all other works *Mary* was a very aukward Girl, in all Matters relating to Religion, her Progreſs was uncommon, tho' not ſo great neither as to make it perceiveable, that ſhe had been taught all thoſe matters to Perfection in her Infancy. However her Mother was much pleaſed to ſee her Daughter ſo religiouſly diſpoſed; and to encourage her, ſhe gave her a little retir'd Place for an Oratory; in which *Mary* as ſoon as ſhe had it, did ſet up a ſmall Altar, and adorn'd it with Images.

Mary, after ſhe had an Oratory, begun to hear a Voice within her, which ſhe called her *Pole Star*: She often heard this Voice, and one Day it ſaid to her, *My Spouſe, turn thy ſelf to me; and forſake that which is Earthly and Momentary. Riſe up my Dove, and flee to me*: And ſo ſhe did, having ſoon after made a Vow, ſhe would be a Nun, to which Vow the bleſſed Virgin, St. *Joſeph*, and ſome other Saints were Witneſſes.

Mary, who hitherto had ſo carefully concealed her great Knowledge, and the prodigious Favours ſhe had received from Heaven, that no Body had ever ſeen the leaſt

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ſign of them, came now to be taken notice of; for having gon to a Confeſſor, that was in the ſpiritual Way, he, tho' ſhe was very young, did lanch her at firſt into the Way of Perfection; and having given her the Rules of Devotion preſcribed by the greateſt myſtical Maſters, they were all obſerved by her ſo punctually, that the Confeſſor ſtood amazed at it; and having ſpoke of her great progreſs in Devotion to others, that were in the ſame way; *Mary*'s Fame, to her great Mortification, was ſpread over the whole Town. For there was nothing ſhe dreaded ſo much, as People's coming to think ſhe had any thing good in her, that was extraordinary: And ſo a grave Prieſt, having at this time told her Parents, that he had always reverenc'd their Daughter *Mary*, having known her to be a Saint from the Day of her Birth, was the moſt ſenſible Affliction ſhe had ever felt, tho' after her Name came to be ſo high, as we ſhall ſee it was, Afflictions of that ſort did, it is like, become more ſupportable.

Mary, being now twelve Years old, and knowing that ſhe might enter into Religion at that Age, ſhe told her Parents ſhe had a Call to it, and they having both given their Conſent, did fully deſign to have placed her in the Nunnery of the Diſcaltiate Carmelites in the City of *Tarazona*. I doubt our *Franciſcan* Author's Invention did furniſh him with this

this Story, on purpoſe to perſwade the World of his Orders being higher in the bleſſed Virgin's Favour than the *Carmelite*, into which the Parents of the Writer of her Life, were reſolved to have put their Daughter, if they had not been hinder'd from doing it by a Revelation. For whilſt *Mary*'s Father was treating with the *Carmelites*, for Treaties there muſt be, and Money too, to have a Child put into any Convent, *Cathalina*, *Mary*'s Mother, as ſhe was one Day at her Devotion, heard a Voice, ſaying to her, *It is my Will you ſacrifice to me your Husband, your ſelf and all your Children, and your Huſband's whole Eſtate, and that you do turn your Houſe into a Convent for Nuns, and enter into it your ſelf, with your two Daughters, and your Husband and your two Sons ſhall take upon them the Habit of the Seraphical St.* Francis. Cathalina, *tho' much amazed, made anſwer, my Family and I are always at the Diſpoſition of your moſt holy Will; but I am much afraid, that if I do ſpeak of this, no Body will believe me, and that I ſhall never be able to get any Nuns to come into my Convent:* The Voice reply'd, *do you obey and you ſhall not want Nuns.* Upon this Revelation, *Cathalina* went directly to her Confeſſor, who was a *Franciſcan* Friar of a high Name in the ſpiritual Way; and he having met *Cathalina*, told her before ſhe had ſaid a Word to him; *I know what's your Buſineſs with me*, and did relate her Revelation

tion to her, Word for Word, and which he ſaid was revealed to him in the ſame Minute.

Cathalina over-joyed at her having got ſo good a Voucher, went preſently to her Husband, and acquainted him with the Revelation ſhe had had: The old Gentleman gave but little heed to her Words, and being vehemently preſſed by his Wife, and his Daughter *Mary*, he became ſo averſe to it, that nothing could have perſwaded him, if his Wife's Confeſſor, of whom he had an high Opinion, had not come and aſſur'd him, that in the ſame Minute his Wife received that Command from Heaven, it was revealed to him, that ſhe had received it in that manner. Upon which Teſtimony of the Truth of his Wife's Revelation, the old Gentleman yielded, and did declare it ſhould be obeyed in every particular. For the lending of which Teſtimony to that Revelation; which otherwiſe would never have been believed, the *Franciſcan* Order is much beholding to that Friar; for beſides the noble Nunnery, and divers other great Advantages, that Order did, by this means, get a famous Proof of the Truth of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Idol Doctrine of the *Franciſcans*, and which alone has raiſed them high above their Rivals the *Dominicans*, by whom that Doctrine is deny'd; after the old Gentleman's Conſent was ob-

obtain'd, the Difficulties, but chiefly that of his Eſtate not being big enough for ſo great a Work, were ſo great, that it was three Years before *Cathalina*, and her Confeſſor could bring the thing to bear. But in that time the Fame of the Mother's Revelation, and of its being ſo ſtrongly confirmed, and of the Daughter's extraordinary Devotion, having been ſpread and believed far and near, Supplies came in ſo from all Parts, that on the Sixteenth of *Auguſt* in the Year 1618. the Fabrick of that new Convent was begun, and by the beginning of *December* in the ſame Year it was finiſhed, and on the Day of the Immaculate Conception, to which that Convent was dedicated, Maſs was ſaid ſolemnly in its Church: Three profeſſed *Franciſcan* Nuns, of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, were brought from *Burgos*, and put into it; and *Cathalina* and her two Daughters having taken the Veil upon them, the Community was formed; the Husband and the two Sons having taken the *Franciſcan* Habit upon them at the ſame time, in the Convent of St. *Antonio de Nalda*.

Mary, during the Year of her Noviciate, and ſometime after ſhe had taken the Vows, is ſaid to have made a great Progreſs in the ſpiritual Way, amidſt direful Temptations; for beſides that ſhe was never free from one painful Diſtemper or other; to keep her humble, the Devil received a large Commiſſion

to

to tempt and torment her, and which was executed by him in a moſt dreadful manner: Sometimes he appeared to *Mary* in her Retirements in the Form of the moſt terrible Creatures, and ſometimes in the Form of a dead Man; but the way by which he tormented her the moſt ſenſibly was by uſing filthy and laſcivious Words. Words! ſaith *Mary* her ſelf, which ought never to be repeated, but buried in eternal Oblivion: And ſometimes he lay upon her with ſo heavy and unſupportable a Weight, that her Breath was ready to have gone out of her Body; ſo that if it had not been for the extraordinary Aſſiſtances and Conſolations which ſhe had now and then from Heaven, ſhe muſt certainly have periſhed in this Combate by theſe terrible Temptations, and her bodily Infirmities, which ſtill continued, and her continual Exerciſes of Devotion and Diſciplines, *Mary* was ſo diſabled, that the Lady Abbeſs and the other two old Nuns, were highly diſpleaſed with her, commanding her upon Pain of being deny'd the Communion, not to pray, faſt and diſcipline her ſelf ſo immoderately, nor to be much alone. What ever the matter was, they were ſo croſs to her, that ſhe could never have a good Word nor a good Look from them; and tho' ſhe ſtrived to obey them in all things, they were ſtill finding fault with every thing ſhe ſaid and did; and ſo far were they carried in this Matter

by

by the Suggeſtions of Satan, that they employed her all the Hours of the Day, which did not belong to the Community, in one impertinent Work or other in their Preſence: neither did they allow her to confeſs her ſelf above twice a Week, nor to ſpend above half a quarter of an Hour at it.

But whereas all the extraordinary Favours *Mary* had hitherto received from Heaven, were Interiors, and had never been obſerved by any body; ſhe now, to her great Grief, began to have Exteriors communicated to her; to wit, violent Raptures, which could not be concealed: Tho' *Mary*, when ſhe found them coming upon her, out of her great Humility, did ſtrive to have hindered them 'till the Blood guſhed out of her Mouth and Noſe: theſe Raptures of *Mary*'s, who was now eighteen Years old, did look ſo like Hyſterical Fits, into which ſome naughty Girls have thrown themſelves, when they had a mind to it, that the Lady Abbeſs and the other two old Nuns, who were called the Founders, were extreamly angry with her. Some of them ſaid it was a Trick, others ſaid it was Folly in her, but they all agreed that ſhe deſerved to be ſeverely chaſtiz'd for it, and to be deny'd the Communion, and the Retirement of her Cell.

On this Occaſion *Mary*'s Soul was combated by different Affections; it was a ſharp Affliction to her to have the heavenly Secrets

crets of her Spirit, which ſhe had ſo long concealed, come now to be divulg'd by inevitable Exteriors; but at the ſame time it was no ſmall Joy to her to hear her Female Superiors, attribute all her Raptures to Nature, or to her Folly, or to ſomething that was worſe. But ſhe had much greater Comforts at this time; for in one of her Raptures, ſhe was viſited by the bleſſed Virgin with the Child Jeſus in her Arms, who ſtretched out his Hand to her: And in another ſhe was viſited by the Holy Ghoſt in the Form of a white Pigeon, and yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Comforts and Honours, *Mary* being ſtill afraid, that ſuch Exteriors from Heaven, would draw the Eyes and the Admiration of the World after her, ſhe prayed fervently not to have any more, but ſhe was not heard. For according to her Fears, the Fame of her frequent divine Raptures was ſpread over the whole Town and Country, by her Confeſſor, and other *Franciſcan* Friars; who when they are ſo happy as to have a Nun of their Order, that has violent Hyſterical Fits, do, for very ſubſtantial Reaſons, ſeldom or never fail to endeavour to put them on the World for divine Raptures. The Truth is, it is from ſuch Fits, that all the Revelations of their Nuns do at firſt ariſe. So on this Occaſion *Mary*'s Confeſſor went preſently to work, and having called the Father Guardian of the *Franciſcan* Con-

Convent in *Agreda* to his Aſſiſtance, they both declar'd, that upon a ſtrict Examination they found ſomething in *Mary*'s Fits that were more than natural. But having been contradicted in it, by the Lady Abbeſs and her Siſters, to ſilence thoſe unbelieving Nuns, the Confeſſor writ a full Account of that Matter to the Provincial of his Order, to whoſe Judgment, which he had Reaſon to believe would be the ſame with his own; he knew the Lady Abbeſs and her Siſters durſt not but ſubmit. This poor Lady Abbeſs, and the other Nuns, are ſeverely laſh'd by our *Franciſcan* Writer, for this their Refractorineſs: He accuſes them of having ſtill oppoſed the way of this Servant of God, meaning *Mary*, and of their having carried their Enquires into her Raptures farther than Prudence did allow. I ſuppoſe he means for the Advantage of their Convent and Order, and not in the ſearch of Truth.

The Provincial having been inform'd how that whole Matter ſtood, and perceiving that nothing but his Authority could put a ſtop to the Impertinency of thoſe imprudent Nuns, who ſtill inſiſted on *Mary*'s Raptures being nothing elſe but violent Hyſterical Fits, and into which they did believe ſhe ſometimes induſtriouſly threw herſelf; he, for all his high Poſt, judged this to be an Affair not unworthy of a Journey to *Agreda*; and having accordingly gone thither in Perſon, he did after

after a ſtrict Examination of that whole Matter, as it is ſaid, ſolemnly pronounce *Mary*'s Fits to be ſupernatural, and certainly divine Raptures, to the eternal ſilenceing the Lady Abbeſs and her Siſters, who one would think were as good Judges of Womens Diſtempers as Friars, a Provincial not excepted, and who in his Examination of thoſe Fits did not, that we read of, make uſe of any Phyſician, and which if he had done we ſhould certainly have heard of it; but tho' the higheſt Poſts cannot give Skill in ſuch Caſes, yet the bold Authority of Superiors, and the implicite Obedience of Subjects in the *Roman* Church, do cauſe ſuch Matters to paſs eaſier, than one can well believe that has not ſeen it.

The Evidences, whereon *Mary*'s Fits were by the Provincial pronounc'd to be ſupernatural and divine Raptures, were, that ſhe ſometimes lay in them, as if ſhe were dead, for two or three Hours, and did not ſeem to feel any Pain, when ſhe was pinched, that her Body was ſometimes raiſed, tho' never quite off the Ground, and was very light; and tho' her natural Complexion was tawny, in her Fits ſhe looked as white as a Cherubin, that her Fits came upon her either after ſhe had communicated, or when ſhe was meditating on ſome of the high Myſteries of Religion, or when ſhe heard Church Muſick. Now whether ſuppoſing all theſe Facts be true, they do amount to a Demonſtration

of *Mary*'s Fits having been Supernatural, and not Hyſterical, Phyſicians can beſt judge.

Mary, contrary to her former cuſtomary Humility, rejoyced not a little in this Determination of the Provincial's; who before he left *Agreda*, did with the Concurrence of her Confeſſor, frame ſuch Rules for her to obſerve, as he judged to be proper for one that had long and frequent Raptures, and was for travelling apace in the ſpiritual Way, in which, it was no longer in the Power of the Lady Abbeſs to curb *Mary*, as ſhe had done formerly; but by her Fits, being both violent and frequent under the Regiment of the Provincial, ſhe was ſo weakned, that ſhe could neither go nor ſtand, and was carried in a Chair to the Communion. This great Weakneſs of *Mary*'s continued until ſhe was miraculouſly cured of it by an ancient Image of our Lady's, which ſhe had brought from the *Franciſcan* Convent to her Cell; a Favour that is ſeldom done to any under the Degree of Princes. This Image is by the *Franciſcans*, to whom it belongs, ſaid to have been brought into *Spain* by ſome Chriſtians, who afterwards were martyr'd in it, in the Time of the Emperour *Dacian*; tho' it is certain, there was not a true Chriſtian at that Time in the World, that would not have ſuffered an hundred Deaths rather than have adored any Image: But let that be as it will, that old Image did certainly acquire a new Reputation,

tion, by its being confidently reported that it had miraculouſly cured ſo great a Saint, as *Mary*, for her frequent Raptures, was now reckoned to be. And *Mary*, to give a good Example to others to carry Offerings to that Miracle-working Image, did her ſelf on this Occaſion make it a conſiderable Offering, and happy was the Perſon who had the Privilege of making the next. An Image, if it be believed to have wrought a new Miracle, being the making of any Convent; but tho' this was a conſiderable Service to the *Franciſcans* in *Agreda*, it was nothing to that which ſhe is ſaid to have done next, to that whole Order; and which, being one of the ſtrangeſt Succeſſes, that was perhaps ever thruſt into Hiſtory, not to ſay Poetry, I ſhall here give a particular Account of it, as it is related in Triumph by the *Franciſcans*, and is believed by all the People in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and that the Reader may ſee the clearer to the Bottom of it, it may not be improper to tell him before-hand, that the *Franciſcan* Order, to whom the Converſion of the *Indies* at firſt chiefly belonged, had now every where been ſtrangely run down by the Jeſuits, as ſuch ſloathful Labourers in that great Vineyard, that for ſeveral Years they had not made a great Converſion in it: And which being, I doubt, true in Fact, the *Franciſcans*, tho' they were extreamly impatient under that Reproach, did not find it an eaſy Mat-

ter to wipe it off, by bringing their *Indian* Miſſionaries, being of an old Order, which had an eſtabliſh'd Reputation in the *Roman* Church, to take as much Pains as the Jeſuits, whoſe Order was new, and their Reputation was yet to be built up. This made the following Story, True or Falſe, to be very ſeaſonable for the *Franciſcan* Order.

Mary, having one Day according to her Cuſtom, had a Rapture, upon her having received the Communion; by abſtractive Species ſhe ſaw all the World at once, and having in this large View, obſerved nothing ſo much as Mankind, which was all ſeen by her; ſhe was wounded to the Soul, to ſee how ſmall a Number of them, were *Roman* Catholicks; and tho' on this Occaſion her Compaſſion extended its ſelf to *Hereticks*, *Jews* and *Mahometans*, yet the Heathens were the People it fixed it ſelf upon, with the greateſt Tenderneſs; and of all the Heathens the moſt ſenſibly upon the People of *New Mexico*, for whoſe Converſion ſhe prayed fervently. And having after ſhe was out of that Rapture, continued to pray for them particularly, ſhe was preſently thrown into another, in which ſhe found herſelf in a New Region, and in a different Climate, and amidſt thoſe very *Indians* ſhe prayed for ſo particularly. She did ſenſibly perceive the great Heat of that Climate, and obſerved all

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its other Diverſities; ſhe was then commanded to pour out her Charity on the *Indians* ſhe had prayed for ſo much, by Preaching the Chriſtian Faith to them. *Mary* did ſo, and tho' ſhe ſpoke to them in *Spaniſh*, ſhe was perfectly underſtood by them, and ſo was their Language by her. But when ſhe came out of her Rapture, ſhe found herſelf in the ſame Place it had ſeized her in. Theſe Miſſionary Raptures were repeated five hundred times, ſo that they muſt come very thick upon her; for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, her Raptures were all quite over within a Year after the firſt ſhe had of this ſort. But that is not very material in ſuch a Story as this, for *Mary* in ſo many hundred Voyages to *New Mexico*, did convert the King of that vaſt Country and all his Subjects, which were numberleſs, to the Chriſtian Faith: In which after ſhe had perfectly inſtructed them all, ſhe bid them go to a remote Country, where they would meet with *Franciſcan* Friars, that would come and Baptize them. The *Indians* did ſo forthwith, and having met with the Friars, they brought them home with them; the Friars were amazed when they found the King and all his Subjects ſo perfectly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion; and ſo having Baptized them all preſently, they asked them by whom they had been ſo well Inſtructed: The *Indians* ſaid by a Woman, but they could not

tell who she was, nor from whence she came, but they gave an Account of the Cloaths she wore, and of her Countenance. The Friars perceiving plainly, that her Cloaths were exactly the Habit of the *Franciscan* Nuns, one of them, who hapned to have a small Picture of Mother *Luisa de Carion*, a famous *Franciscan* Nun in *Spain* at that time, for *Mary*'s Fame, nor Picture, had not yet reach'd those remote Parts, he shewed it to the *Indians*, and asked them whether that was not the Woman that had instructed and converted them: They said, the Habit was exactly the same, but the Face was not, for the Woman by whom they were taught, was both much younger, and much handsomer. The Friars then conferr'd together to find out who this Woman should be; and the Person of all others that was the most solicitous to know it, was their Superior, Father *Alonso de Benavides*; and who, tho' not till eight Years after he knew of that Conversion, did take a Journey from the remotest *Indies* to *Spain*, on purpose to find out this Female Apostle, concluding it seems, that she was in *Spain*, tho' her Converts had told him no such thing. Father *Benavides* being arriv'd at *Madrid*, did very luckily meet with the General of the *Franciscan* Order there; to whom he told the whole Story as it is above related: The General who was no Stranger to *Mary*, for he had been lately at *Agreda*,

da, to visit her, as one of the most useful Subjects of his Order; affirmed presently, that she must be the Woman that had wrought the miraculous Conversion, and being resolved to make the most of this Story, he did, saith our *Franciscan* Writer, that no Doubt might hereafter remain of its Truth, secretly appoint Father *Benavides* to go to *Agreda*, with the Character of his Commissary; for whatever the Mystery of it was, this Matter was transacted so secretly, that until after *Mary*'s Death, which was above forty Years after this, it was not known to any in *Spain*, besides a few confiding *Franciscans*. And the General fearing least *Mary*'s great Humility might make her backward to declare the whole Truth, he sent Letters to her by his Commissary, commanding her, on the Merit of Obedience, to declare it all.

Father *Benavides*, when he came to *Agreda*, was met there by a Provincial of the *Franciscan* Order, of so great Moment was the giving of Credit to this Story, judged to be, that the whole Authority of that Order was got together at *Agreda*, for to help that Story to it. That Affair was nevertheless transacted with that Secrecy, that Father *Benavides*, and *Mary*, and all the rest concerned in the managery of it, were in their Graves before it was publish'd in *Europe*, neither was it perhaps inconvenient that it

ſhould be ſo, ſince they might otherwiſe have been asked ſome queſtions about it, which it would not have been very eaſy for the cunningeſt of them to have anſwered: But to proceed.

The Generals Commiſſary, the Provincial and the Confeſſor, who was a Learned and Wiſe *Franciſcan*, that had dedicated himſelf entirely to the conducting of *Mary* in a ſpiritual Way: Having delivered the Generals Letters to her, they required her to declare all that ſhe knew concerning a great Converſion made eight Years ago in *New Mexico*. *Mary*, who was the moſt obedient Creature in the World to her Superiors, having made a Sacrifice of this great Secret to Obedience, ſhe gave them the full Hiſtory of that Converſion exactly as it is above related. And being asked by the Commiſſary, *Whether ſhe made that remote Converſion in her Body, or only in her Spirit? She anſwered, She was not certain in that, but that ſhe was moſt inclined to think it was performed by her only in Spirit.* The Commiſſary looking on that doubt of *Mary*'s to be an effect of her profound Humility, upon the following Evidences, he and his two Confederates, did pronounce that remote Converſion to have been made by *Mary in her Body, or Perſon.*

Firſt, Becauſe there was Experience for its having been made ſo, for ſhe had ſeen all thoſe

thoſe remote Regions with her Eyes, and felt their exceſſive Heat. She alſo knew the true Names of them all, and did give an exact Deſcription of them, and of the Habit and Military Arms of thoſe *Indians*. In her Voyages to *New Mexico*, ſhe had ſeen prodigious Seas and vaſt Tracts of Land, of all which ſhe gave a perfect Account: She had been in ſome of them by Day, and in others by Night; in ſome of them ſhe had met with fair Weather, and in others with Rain; and had ſeen the *Indians* on their Knees to her praying for a Remedy.

Secondly, In one of thoſe Voyages, ſhe thought ſhe had diſtributed a great many *Roſaries* which lay by her in her Cell, among the *Indian* Converts. And when ſhe looked for thoſe *Roſaries*, after ſhe was out of that Rapture, they were all gone, neither were they ever found afterwards. *Mary*'s Body having, during her five hundred Miſſionary Raptures, been ſtill in her Convent, and none of thoſe Raptures having laſted above three Hours, are ſo much as mentioned, as Objections againſt the Sentence of *Mary*'s having made all thoſe Voyages in Perſon; thoſe natural Impoſſibilities, being by the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation looked on as Difficulties not conſiderable enough to deſerve to be taken notice of. As in truth they that have once ſwallowed that Doctrine, may with

with eaſe believe this, or any other Story in defiance of all Objections againſt them.

The Commiſſary having ſettled this Affair to his hearts deſire, he procured a Letter from *Mary* to her *Indian* Converts, full of good Inſtructions, and pious Exhortations, which he carried over with him to *New Mexico*, to which he returned ſoon after. But to put an end to this long blind Story, this remote miraculous Converſion is ſaid to have been made by *Mary* in the Year 1622, when ſhe was not yet twenty Years old. Father *Bonavides*'s diligence was made in the Year 1630. *Mary* died in the Year 1665, and this famous Story was brought out of the Lavender it had lain in above thirty Years, and was firſt publiſhed in *Spain* in the Year 1668; when the Commiſſary General of the *Franciſcan* Order in the *Indies*, did ſend the Hiſtory of it to their Procurator in the Court of *Madrid*, to be by him preſented to the Royal Council of the *Indies* in *Spain*; *as a Teſtimony*, ſaith our *Franciſcan* Writer, *of what the* Franciſcan *Order is continually doing in the New World, in the Converſion of Infidels, in Contradiction to a certain Emulation*, he means that of the Jeſuits, *which pretend to obſcure that Glory.*

Now if that Glory of the *Franciſcan* Order in the Converſion of Infidels, can be ſupported by ſuch Teſtimonies as theſe, let its Friars in the *Indies* be as lazy as they will, neither

neither the Jeſuits, nor no other Emulation, will be able to obſcure it.

In the Year 1623, which was within a Year after *Mary* is ſaid to have gone in Perſon from *Spain* to *New Mexico*; that great Traveller's Raptures left her, upon *Mary*'s, ſaith our *Franciſcan* Writer, having out of her great Humility prayed fervently, that ſhe might have no more of them, nor no other Exterior miraculous Favours, to draw after her the Eyes and the Veneration of the World, which was a Croſs ſhe was not able to bear. But now, though Humility is a very good thing, yet conſidering, that if thoſe Raptures had continued, *Mary* might have made more ſuch remote Converſions, for out of Raptures they were never made. I cannot tell whether *Mary* did well in praying to be freed from them, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they had their due effects on all that believed them to be divine Raptures. But however that is, *Mary* notwithſtanding the great Converſion ſhe had made in Perſon in her Raptures, was ſo mortified by People ſhewing her ſo much Reverence, that ſhe did reſolve, if they had continued to have found out ſome way or other to prevent that ill effect of them. The firſt way ſhe thought of, was to feign her ſelf *Dumb*; but being obliged to Confeſs, and which was a Duty ſhe would not for the World have omitted: that would not do.

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The next thing ſhe intended, to abate the high Opinion which the World had of her, was to counterfeit herſelf a *Fool*, or an *Idiot* : But to do that, required Actions ſo diſſonant to her natural Serenity and Compoſure, that ſhe could not act that part neither. By this we may ſee, that whatever *Mary* was as to her Raptures, ſhe was not uncapable of deviſing Tricks when ſhe had a mind to it. And however it was in this caſe, Pride has had a thouſand ſuch Tricks made uſe of to gratifie it, where Humility has had one.

But *Mary* was ſoon eaſed of this great trouble of inventing Tricks how to leſſen her high Fame; for her Raptures having left her at the Age of two and twenty, her Reputation ſank apace, and no where ſo faſt as in her own Convent; where the Nuns in a moſt provoking manner, did let looſe their Tongues. Some of them ſaid *Mary*'s Fits having left her as they did, ſhewed plainly they were not divine Raptures; others ſaid, if there was any thing in them that was more than Natural, it muſt have been from the Devil. And others ſaid, if they were divine Raptures, ſhe muſt by ſome great Sin or other have provoked God to deſert her.

The Confeſſor, who before had talked too laviſhly of *Mary*'s Raptures, and by magnifying of them had drawn People too much about her, was now ſo reſerved, that he would

would not ſay a word to any body of them; neither would he ſuffer *Mary* though never ſo much provoked to it, which was a wiſe Courſe enough: Only *Mary*, having obſerved that her Mother ſeemed to be much troubled at it, ſhe begged of her as ſhe loved her, not to be in any pain about that Matter. Our *Franciſcan* Writer owns, that *Mary* herſelf was likewiſe much dejected at this time; but he will not hear of that Affliction's having proceeded from a Senſe that her Fame was ſinking; for in that he will ſtill have her to have rejoiced beyond meaſure; and indeed beyond what ſeems to be proper; but to have been cauſed purely by the Devils having attacked her at that time, with greater fury than he had ever done before.

But however *Mary* ſtood affected as to her own Fame, that of her Superiours, who had made ſuch a noiſe with her divine Raptures, was too much involv'd in it, for them to let it ſink, if it could be upheld by any Pretences. So it was preſently given out, That *Mary* having in her great Humility prayed away her Raptures, ſhe was now return'd to her former beloved ſilent and hidden way of Converſing with God: And that ſhe had now Elevations of Spirit, though no outward ſigns of them appeared, becauſe ſhe had prayed none might; that were as miraculous, and much greater Favours than her

her Raptures. And thus *Mary* had her Fame ſet on a ſurer ground than it ſtood on before; all her Extraordinaries being now Interiors and Inviſible, and were all believed on the word of her Confeſſor, and other Superiors.

Mary for ſome time before, beſides her Guardian Angel, had ſix other Angels appointed to attend her; and which, now ſhe was in the ſilent and hidden way, did converſe with her much more familiarly, than they had done in the days of her Raptures; which having left her, were by her Superiors called, *A low imperfect Eſtate.* Thoſe ſix Angels had all their diſtinct Offices about *Mary.* The Firſt was her Mediator with God, as if Chriſt alone was not ſufficient for that Work. The Second was her Embaſſador to God, to lay before him all her Deſires, Works, and Petitions. The Third was to enlighten her Soul, as if the Holy Ghoſt could not have done that ſufficiently. The Fourth was to defend her againſt Evil Spirits. The Fifth was to manifeſt God's Majeſty to her. And the Laſt was to manifeſt to her the Bleſſings of Sweetneſs, and the Marvels which were done in her Soul. And to her farther unſpeakable Joy and Comfort, ſhe had at this time St. *Urſula*, the Captain of the eleven thouſand Virgins, and St. *Ines* given her for her Companions; and who when they were firſt introduced

duced to her, did in her hearing, receive the following Charge from God.

My Spouſes, I deliver you here to my beloved Mary, *whom ye ſhall Accompany, Comfort and Support, that ſhe may be likewiſe a Faithful Spouſe to me.* Now all this being believed, as it was, and is ſtill in *Spain*, was it not enough to raiſe *Mary*'s Fame, which had begun to ſink upon her Raptures having left her, higher than ever it was.

But to make *Mary* yet eaſier and ſafer in her ſilent and hidden Way, ſhe had a great Stumbling-block removed out of it, by her kind Superiours. For whereas the old Nuns that had at firſt been brought from *Burgos*, and ſome who had been brought from *Madrid* into that Convent, had ſtill oppoſed *Mary* in that Way, and had never had no good Opinion neither of *Mary*, nor of her Raptures. Thoſe Nuns were now all removed; and to make a clear Stage for *Mary*, were ſent back to the Places from whence they came. And though the ſilent and hidden Way, and extraordinary Elevations of Mind do not commonly qualifie People much for Government, *Mary*, though ſhe was not yet five and twenty Years old, muſt be Lady Abbeſs of the Convent. On this occaſion a moſt terrible Combate did ariſe betwixt *Mary* and her Superiours; for *Mary*, as if ſhe had reckoned Humility to be better than the Sacrifice of Obedience to God and Man, did not-

notwithſtanding ſhe had in a divine Revelation been expreſly commanded to accept of that Office, refuſe to hear of it when it was ſpoke of to her by her Superiours. And in this painful Streight betwixt her Humility and her Obedience, *Mary* continued, until the bleſſed Virgin was ſo kind as to help her out of it: Who having appeared to her one Day, bid her be of good Chear, for ſhe herſelf would be Lady Abbeſs of that Convent, and *Mary* ſhould only be her Agent, or Deputy; promiſing with great Tenderneſs, at all times to direct and aſſiſt her in that Government. With this expedient *Mary* was ſo well pleaſed, that ſhe did not ſay a word more againſt her being choſe Lady Abbeſs; as ſhe was, as ſoon as her Superiours had a Diſpenſation from the Pope, for her not being of Age, according to the Rules of her Order. And to give a publick Demonſtration of the bleſſed Virgins being the Lady Abbeſs, and *Mary* only her Deputy; *Mary* had a Throne erected in the middle of the Quire, on which ſhe placed an Image of the bleſſed Virgin, laying at her Feet the Rule and the Seal of the Convent, which are the Enſigns of that Dignity. And this Ceremony is continued in that Convent to this Day, and that Image is by all the Nuns ſtill called their Prelate.

Mary, whom hereafter I ſhall call Lady Abbeſs, becauſe ſhe had the full Powers of that

that Office, though she was only a Deputy in it; did in the very first Year of her Government, begin to project the building of a new and bigger Convent. The place she had pitched on for it, was without the Walls of the Town, and near the *Franciscan* Friars; she had not been quite a Year Lady Abbess, and had but an hundred Rials, or fifty Shillings, and which she had borrow'd too of a devout Person, when she laid the first Stone of that Foundation; and though a great hard Rock was removed, at the expence of much Money and Time, to make the situation the more Commodious, it was all finished in seven Years. So fast did the belief of the blessed Virgins being its Lady Abbess, and of her Deputy's Elevations, Visions, and Revelations bring in Money. Its Church was a beautiful Building, its Quire was large, its Cloister very curious, and all its Offices so adjusted, that no Monastery can be more commodiously built for that Order. The building of so great a Convent in so short a time, was looked on by every body as a Miracle; and which was the more astonishing, because no body could perceive by what ways so vast a Sum of Money had been procured. And so affected was the Bishop of *Tarazona*, who is the Ordinary of *Agreda*, with this Miracle, that he came to *Agreda* capitularly, with the whole Chapter of his Church, to celebrate the Translation

of the Nuns to this Monaſtery. That Tranſlation was celebrated on the 10th of *June*, in the Year 1633, with the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical Pomp that had ever been ſeen before in that Place. In the Proceſſion, not only the Secular Clergy and Friars in *Agreda*, but of all the Country for many Miles about, and all the Nobles, and Town Companies did appear. Every Nun had a Dignitary, or Canon of the Church of *Tarazona* walking by her ſide: And in the Rear came the Biſhop, who ſaid the Pontifical Maſs with great Solemnity in its Church. And whereas the Rents of the former Convent were hardly enough to maintain twelve Nuns, the Lady Abbeſs, before ſhe died, had ſure Rents ſettled upon it, ſufficient to maintain three and thirty; which was their Number, in Plenty, and all ſorts of Conveniences. So good a Lady Abbeſs was *Mary* to her Nuns in Temporals, as well as Spirituals, notwithſtanding ſhe was all this while in her ſilent and hidden way, and with extraordinary Elevations and Illuminations concerning the Life and Myſteries of the Queen of Heaven.

But whereas according to the Rules of that Order, one can be Lady Abbeſs but for three Years, and cannot without a Diſpenſation from the Pope be re-elected at the end of them, a terrible Combate did ariſe betwixt her, and the Nuns, and her Superiors, about chooſing

chooſing her again. Her Superiors and the Nuns having ſent to the Popes Nuncio in *Madrid*, to ſupplicate for that Diſpenſation: *Mary*, as if ſhe had quite forgot the Agreement which was betwixt the bleſſed Virgin and her, did oppoſe her being choſe a ſecond time, as much as if that expedient had never been thought of; writing earneſtly to the Popes Nuncio, by no means to grant that Diſpenſation. This Carriage of the Lady Abbeſs's, though it is very odd, is not to be wonder'd at: Her Underſtanding, her Diſcretion, and Memory, yea and her Obedience to God, and to her Superiors, being at every turn ſacrificed, by the Writer of her Life, to the Humours of her Humility; which is the Vertue of all others he takes the moſt Pains to adorn his Hero with. This violent ſtruggle was at the end of every third Year, for ſeven and twenty Years together, renewed by the Lady Abbeſs, writing ſtill to the Nuncio not to grant a Diſpenſation for her being choſen again, but ſhe could never obtain that Grace, before the Year 1652, when that Diſpenſation was deny'd by *Julio Roſpelioſi*, the Popes Nuncio in *Madrid*, and ſo another Nun was choſen into that Office, to the great grief of the Nuns, and their Superiors; but of courſe to *Mary*'s great Joy. I doubt not but *Roſpelioſi*, had ſome reaſon for this ſingularity of his, beſide *Mary*'s Supplicating him of courſe to

deny that Diſpenſation, though we are not told what it was. But that New Lady Abbeſs's three Years being expired, *Mary* was choſen again, and did continue in that Office till ſhe died; ſo that ſhe was Lady Abbeſs from the Year 1625, to the Year 1665, with that ſingle gap of three Years made by *Roſpelioſi.*

The Lady Abbeſs is ſaid to have had now nothing in her Head but the writing the Life of the bleſſed Virgin, and in order to that ſhe began to have both Active and Paſſive interior Diſpoſitions. Her Paſſive Diſpoſitions, which in a Proteſtant would be call'd *Enthuſiaſm*, or *Quakeriſm*, did begin with an Infuſion of ſuch a clear and univerſal Science, as was neceſſary to enable her, with a profound Knowledge, to perceive and delineate the Excellencies of the Mother of the Creator, and of the Queen of the Creation. For tho' by her firſt Lights, when ſhe was an Infant, ſhe had the Knowledge of the Univerſe infuſed into her, that Knowledge was ſo ſuperficial, as to lead her only to the Knowledge of the Creator in the Creature. But the Science ſhe had now infuſed into her, was moſt diſtinct, and with a great Penetration, into the *Beings*, *Qualities*, and *Properties* of every Thing. What a noble body of natural Philoſophy could this Nun have made, if ſhe had pleaſed, with all this Knowledge. With theſe inward Lights and Diſpoſitions, the

the Lady Abbeſs had likewiſe ſome outward Helps, towards the writing of that Life; the chief of theſe, and which no doubt of it, did ſignifie more than all the other Exterior and Interior, was her having got at this time, a Learned *Franciſcan* Friar for her Confeſſor. His Name was *Franciſco Andres de la Toore*, who whilſt he was the Provincial of the *Franciſcan* Order, had an Inſpiration to devote himſelf and his time entirely to the Conducting of the Lady Abbeſs in her ſilent and hidden way; and who ſo ſoon as the time of his Government was out, dedicated himſelf wholly to that Buſineſs, as the beſt he could imploy himſelf in, for the Service of his Order, if not for his own too.

After the Lady Abbeſs was thus well diſpoſed, prepar'd and ready to have gone about that great Work; to prevent her being exalted above meaſure by that Honour, ſhe was for fourſcore Days together, in one continued Night of diſmal Darkneſs. God having, during all that time, hid himſelf from her; neither did her Angels aſſiſt her, and all her Lights had retir'd; and while ſhe was in theſe funeſt Obſcurities, ſhe was furiouſly attacked by *Lucifer* himſelf, accompanied with many Legions of Devils. At the end of fourſcore Days, ſhe began to ſee ſome Light, for the Devils having been conquered by her, did flie from her, but in a moſt outragious manner; and a good Angel appeared, and

administred her some Comfort. When the Devils had left her, she was presently visited with various painful Distempers, which brought her very low, and in that weak Condition, she had a clear Vision of Hell, and of all the damned in it, and of their several sorts of Torments; by which horrible Sight, a Torment was raised in her own Soul greater than any Creature on Earth can express or conceive. After this long tedious Night of dismal Obscurities, and Battels, the Sun of Righteousness displayed its Beams, and she begun to spy Day in the divine Presence. Her Angels also appeared joyful about her, and being regaled by the divine Spouse, with his Pleasures, she was taken up by him into his high Habitation, where the Treasures of his incomparable Knowledge were liberally poured into her Soul; first she had infused into her the Knowledge of the whole Creation, from the *Emperean* Heaven to the Centre of the Earth, with a great Distinction and Penetration of all their Parts: what pity it was she did not tell her Confessor, whether the *Ptolomaick* or the *Copernican* Hypothesis was true. She had next infused into her the deepest Knowledge of the Church Militant, and of all its Orders, Treasures and Miracles; and also of the whole Order of Grace and spiritual Gifts. And this Science in her, did extend its self to all political Affairs, and to all the Modes of temporal Government,

vernment, not only among the Sons of the Church, but among thoſe likewiſe who are without her, ſo that ſhe comprehended the whole political State of the World. It was *Philip* the Fourth's believing this Nun to be ſo perfect and Univerſal a Politician, that made him viſit her ſo often, and correſpond with her for many Years by Letters, asking her Advice in all Affairs of great Importance. Now conſidering how ill things went every where with that Prince, during the Time of his Correſponding with this Nun, ſhe ſeems not to have been a much better Politician than the *Spaniſh* firſt Miniſters that were before her, or at leaſt not more fortunate.

In the laſt Place ſhe had the moſt eminent Knowledge of the Church Triumphant, and of all the Orders of Angels and Saints infuſed into her; and in an abſtractive Viſion, ſhe did behold the Trinity of Perſons in the Unity of Eſſence. All this Knowledge was in her at this time actually and diſtinctly, and did penetrate into all its Objects; and that of the Creatures, in the three Orders of Nature, Grace and Glory, was habitual and permanent in her, ſo that ſhe made uſe of it with eaſe when ſhe pleaſed. She had alſo ſuch a Light in the Scriptures, that when ſhe recited the Offices, ſhe diſcover'd many Myſteries in the Pſalms; and tho' ſhe had not the Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue infuſed into her, ſo as to ſpeak it, yet ſhe under-

ſtood it very well: And as to the *Spaniſh* Tongue, beſides the Propriety, ſhe had a grave Elegancy given her in it, and a moſt admirable Knowledge and Uſe of the moſt proper and perciſe Terms of Scholaſtical, and Myſtical Divinity, which many great Men have not been able to acquire with much Study. It was abſolutely neceſſary for the Writer of this Nun's Life, to affirm, that this Knowledge was infuſed into her; for otherwiſe none could have believed the Books which are publiſhed under her Name, to have been written by her, they are every where ſo full of Scholaſtical and Myſtical Terms and Diſtinctions; and which are ſo properly apply'd, that her Scholaſtical Confeſſor himſelf could not have uſed them more properly.

The Lady Abbeſs having had her Underſtanding thus paſſively diſpoſed, by the Infuſion of ſo many Lights, ſhe went on to the Active, by which her Will and other Faculties and Powers, were to be rightly diſpoſed; and to provoke her to do her Part in the Active. She had all the extraordinary Benefits ſhe had ever received from Heaven ſet before her in a clear Light; by this Sight, ſo high a Senſe of Gratitude was raiſed in her, that ſhe thought, if her Life was not abſolutely perfect, ſhe could not anſwer thoſe Obligations; and as this did create in her a moſt vehement Thirſt after Perfection, ſo whilſt

whilſt ſhe was purſuing that with all her Powers, ſhe was in a high Viſion, by an admirable Spiritual Marriage eſpouſed to Chriſt, to whom ſhe was eſpouſed twice before, but not in ſo high and ſolemn a Manner. For after this Marriage her Lord and Husband gave her ſtrict Matrimonal Laws, and commanded her to write them down, which ſhe did, in an admirable Tract, with this Title, *The Laws of the Spouſe, the Looks of her chaſte Love, and the Teachings of the divine Science:* All which Laws ſhe ſet her ſelf to obſerve punctually.

And being now thus diſpoſed, with an Elevation of Spirit, with the Aſſiſtances of her Angels, with the Converſation of Virgins, that is of St. *Urſula*, and St. *Ines*, and under the immediate Government of the Queen of Heaven, and with the Infuſion of Knowledge, and with the Perfection of a Spouſe, and with the Arms of the King her Husband; and laſt of all, with an ardent Deſire after the Salvation of Souls, ſhe did receive a poſitive Command, for her own Inſtruction, for the Glory of God, for the Honour of his Mother, and for the Profit of the Faithful, to write a Deſcription *of the Myſtical City of GOD*, which *is the bleſſed Virgin.* For ten Years, at Times, ſhe had been receiving Orders to write that Divine Hiſtory, but in great Humility ſhe had ſtill declined it, as an Honour too great for her; but this laſt Command

mand was ſo poſitive, that no Room was now left for Humility to interpoſe it ſelf any longer in; it did nevertheleſs, and according to its Cuſtom began to be troubleſome and impertinent again. For when ſhe acquainted her Confeſſor with the laſt Command ſhe had received to write that Hiſtory, ſhe told him, *She was in a very great Streight betwixt yielding Obedience to that Divine Command, and the Conceit ſhe had of her own Unfitneſs for ſo high a Work, deſiring his Advice and Direction.* Her Confeſſor, who had for ſome Years obſerved the Courſe of thoſe Divine Intimations, concerning the writing of that Hiſtory, having adviſed with his Superiors, did now command her, as ſhe would not reſiſt God and her Prelates, to go preſently about that Work. Of both which Commands, ſhe takes Notice in her Introduction to that Hiſtory; and in the ſecond Chapter of its firſt Book, ſhe mentions the Lights ſhe had, and the State ſhe was in when ſhe writ that *Life*, with all the Sorts and Manners of Revelations which were communicated to her on that Occaſion; and where ſhe ſhews how great an Infuſion ſhe had of Light into Scholaſtical and Myſtical Divinity.

In the Year 1637, the Lady Abbeſs making no ſmall Sacrifice of her ſelf to Obedience, began to write that *Life*. She was at that time in great Tranquillity of Mind, for the Devil was chained up that he might give her no

no Interruption. And ſo great was the Affluence of Divine Light, and of the Knowledge of Myſteries, that in twenty Days ſhe had finiſhed the firſt Part of that great Work. But the Devil, who during the twenty Days ſhe was writing that Part, had been chained up, being now let looſe, and coming to underſtand how ſhe had been employed in his Abſence, and how pernicious a Thing that Hiſtory would be to his Kingdom, he attacked her with all his Fury, and did ſtrive by all ways, but chiefly by ſuggeſting Fears to her, to have deſtroy'd it, or at leaſt to have obſtructed its being carried on any further. But the Devil, after many a fierce Battel, having been vanquiſhed by her, ſhe went on writing with great Ardor, until ſhe had finiſhed the whole Work. And which is, I think, in many reſpects the ſtrangeſt that this Age produc'd. However, to reward her for this great Service, the bleſſed Virgin appeared to her, and having ſpoke to her with great Benignity, ſhe prepared her to aſcend into the hidden Bed of her moſt holy Spouſe. *Firſt*, By inſtructing her in Self-Renunciation. *Secondly*, By renewing in her the myſtical Death. *Thirdly*, By waſhing and purifying her Mind from all impure Images, and Species of the World. *Fourthly*, By acquainting her with the Royal Robes, and the rich Jewels her Husband would have her wear. And, *Laſtly*, By directing her how to build the Caſtle within her,

her, and how to adorn it ſo, as to be fit for her Lord and Husband to live in: With a great deal more, concerning the ſpacious and always pleaſant Gardens ſhe was to walk in with her Husband: Concluding, with acquainting her with the admirable Form in which her Marriage-Writings were to be ſigned under thoſe Conditions. All which Succeſſes, Doctrines, and Inſtructions were writ by the Lady Abbeſs, in a Treatiſe, Entitled, *The Laws of the Spouſe; and the Thought and Sighs of her Heart, for obtaining of the laſt and true End, the good Grace of her Lord and Husband.*

The Lady Abbeſs, who hitherto had practiſed Vocal Prayer much, was now elevated to that Seraphical Height, that ſhe began to diſlike that Exerciſe, fearing the Plenitude of Light, and the Manifeſtation of Myſteries might be obſtructed by it. So reſtleſs and unſatiable a Thing is Enthuſiaſm; for if this Nun had all the Lights ſhe is ſaid to have had from her Birth, ſhe might very well have been contented with her preſent Plenitude, and with the Way of Worſhip it had been communicated to her in. But ſhe could not be ſo it ſeems, and did therefore acquaint her Confeſſor with the great Perplexity ſhe was in concerning Vocal Prayer; being, ſhe ſaid, afraid after having uſed it ſo long, and with ſo great Profit, for to leave it off, and likewiſe afraid to uſe it any longer,

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apprehending her Progreſs in the Spiritual Way, which is ſilent and hidden, might be retarded by it.

Whether this was this Nun's Caſe or not, it is, as I have obſerved before, what the Myſtical Way of Worſhip naturally tends to; and, if it be left entirely to its Liberty, certainly ends in. And for that Reaſon the *Roman Church*, whoſe Riches and Grandeur do ariſe from bodily and exterior Performances of Worſhip, though ſhe may now and then for a little Variety, allow the Myſtical to one ſhut up in a Cloiſter, under a blind Obedience to a cunning Confeſſor. Of all things in the World, ſhe will not ſuffer it to ſpread amongſt her People, who living in hot and dry Climates, if they be any ways religiouſly diſpoſed, are naturally ſtrongly enclined to that way. For by what I could obſerve by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*, all, or moſt of them, if they were left entirely to their Liberty, in all Matters of Religion, would be either Irreligious, or Enthuſiaſtical. That deep and dark Superſtition they are all now under, being plainly a Yoke upon their natural Tempers, and which is kept upon them by the great and ſteady Vigilance and Terrors of the Inquiſition; and is, as the Yoke of their Gravity, made ſupportable by Pride, Cuſtom, and long Uſage. For I could never obſerve any of them to be well diſpoſed to a ſober and reaſonable Worſhip, that had nothing

thing in it either of Superſtition or Enthuſiaſm.

Her Confeſſor ſo far comply'd with her myſtical Inclination, as to adviſe her not to uſe Vocal Prayer any more in her private Devotions; but in all the preſcribed and publick Offices of Worſhip, he held her cloſe to it. And finding that ſhe began to ſoar too high in the ſilent and hidden Way, he did, after the Example of the Old Nuns, who were ſo much condemned for it, employ her more about Secular Affairs, and curb her great Ardors in Spiritual.

She is nevertheleſs after this ſaid to have paſſed through three myſtical Noviciates, and to have been by them elevated to the Pinacles of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and of all other Chriſtian and Moral Virtues: And that being in this elevated State, ſhe diſcovered a moſt helliſh Plot hatching againſt the Church, and againſt *Spain* particularly, for being her ſoundeſt Member. For in the eternal Caverns of Hell, ſhe ſaw a great Council of Devils laying their Heads together how to deſtroy the Church; and who, after many Deliberations, at laſt came to this Reſolution, That they would engage the *Roman Catholick* Princes in a War with one another, and afterwards incite the Hereticks to joyn with ſome of them to deſtroy *Spain*, and with her the *Roman* Faith, of which ſhe is the chief Support. After this Viſion nothing

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was ſo much in her Thoughts, nor lay ſo heavy on her Spirits, as the Dangers ſhe ſaw the Church in; for whoſe Safety ſhe did not only pray fervently, but did alſo by Letters, acquaint her own King and the Pope with the Conſpiracy ſhe had diſcovered; and with her having ſeen many Legions of Devils ſent out of Hell to execute it; putting them both in mind of their Duty, in a Time of ſo great Danger. We are not told that ſhe writ either to the Court of *France*, or to that of *Portugal*, to acquaint them with the helliſh Plot ſhe had diſcovered. But if ſhe did, her Words were not regarded in either of thoſe Kingdoms. The Wars betwixt them and *Spain*, having after ſhe had beat this Alarm at *Madrid* and *Rome*, been carried on many Years with great Heat. However, ſince this Oracle did *Philipize*, her Diſcoveries being plainly calculated for *Philip* the Fourth's Intereſt; it was, or ſeemed to be, believed by that Prince: And who being called by his Affairs to *Saragoſſa*, he did take *Agreda*, tho' it was not in his way, on purpoſe to ſee this Viſionary Nun. He ſpent ſeveral Hours in Converſation with her, and was ſo well pleaſed with what ſhe ſaid to him, that at parting, he beſeeched her to pray for him and his Kingdoms, and to correſpond with him by Letters; and when he writ to her about Affairs of Importance, to let him have her Advice. By this means the Lady

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Abbeſs, or rather the *Franciſcan* Order, was raiſed to the top of the Miniſtry. And as there was ſcarce a Poſt by which the King did not write to her with his own Hand for Advice; ſo ſhe took care to let him have it, writing to him with an Oracular Authority. Thus the *Franciſcan* Order, by having raiſed this Nun's Name ſo high, had opened a Way ready to it ſelf of laying all its Affairs and Wants immediately, and with great Weight before the King. What Advantages that Order reaped by being for ſeveral Years thus at the top of the Miniſtry, I know not; only I find, that the King in the Year 1649, was put into ſuch a Flame of Zeal *for the Immaculate Conception*, the Idol Doctrine of the *Franciſcan* Order, that he declared publickly in a *Cortes* of the whole Kingdom, *That if the Definition of that Point did depend on his going to* Rome *in Perſon to ſollicit it, that he would go thither with all his heart, and ſhould reckon himſelf the happieſt Prince in the World, if he could be an Inſtrument to procure that Doctrine to be defined by the Pope.*

Whether *Philip* had ever any Suſpicion of the Letters and Advices which he received daily from this Nun, not being writ by her, but by her Confeſſor, to whom he offered a conſiderable Preferment in the Church, in the Year 1645, he had cauſe given him to ſuſpect it ſhrewdly: For her Confeſſor having been choſe Provincial again, by his Office

fice he was obliged to go to *Toledo*, there to hold a general Chapter of the Order. And during his Abſence, *Mary* had a Friar for her Confeſſor, who had been her Confeſſor before. And who, if he was not the Tool of the Order to do the following Job of Work, as there is cauſe to believe he was, he muſt have been a ſad Tool of a Confeſſor, as he is repreſented by them to have been. For the Lady Abbeſs was no ſooner under his Authority, than he forbid her to write; and ſo the King could have no more Letters from her, and not content with that, he told her, *That Women had nothing to do to write Books*, and ſo commanded her to burn all her own Papers, and among the reſt the Hiſtory which ſhe had writ of the Bleſſed Virgin.

Now as this Story was deviſed partly to palliate her not writing to the King, during the Time of her Confeſſor's Abſence, and for another great Purpoſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; ſo it is certainly the blindeſt and the moſt incredible Story that was ever told to palliate any Thing. For can any one imagine, that the *Franciſcan* Prelates, if they had not had a mind to have this Nun's former Writings deſtroy'd, to have better in their room under her Name, would have ſuffered a *Mumpſimus* to come near her, that judged it not to be lawful for Women to write either Books or Letters? Or can any think that this Nun, if ſhe had not known,

that her ſuperior Prelates were for having thoſe Books deſtroyed, would not have had recourſe to them, to have reſcued them from the Flames? For we know that ſhe was not ſo tamely obedient to her immediate Prelates, as not to have Recourſe to their Superiors for Relief, when ſhe thought there was an Occaſion; witneſs her having every three Years for above forty Years together, had Recourſe to the Popes Nuncio's, in Contradiction to her immediate Prelates, to deny Diſpenſations for her Re-elections: But let Obedience and Humility, and what elſe will, be pretended, this Nun if ſhe had believed what has been ſaid of the extraordinary Infuſions of Knowledge to diſpoſe and prepare her to write that Hiſtory; and her having writ it by an Expreſs Divine Command, and by Divine Revelation, and by the Command of her Prelates likewiſe, ſhe muſt have been a moſt wretched Creature, to have burnt ſuch a Divine Book, upon any Man's, and much leſs upon a ſimple *Mumpſimus*'s Authority; but we ſhall hear more hereafter of her having burnt this Book from her ſelf. I ſhall therefore here make a ſhort Remark, and afterwards reſume the Thread of this blind Story: It is, that ſuch blundering Palliations as theſe, being ſo thick in the Lives of the Popiſh Saints, which of late have been written by Men of ſome Learning; and in all things elſe of true Senſe, tempts one

one almoſt to think, that they are the Effects of judicial Blindneſs; no ſuch Blunders as theſe being any where to be met with in any profane Romances. But to return.

The Provincial being come back to *Agreda*, was, if he himſelf was not in the Plot, as it is not likely he was, out of all Patience to find the Hiſtory of the Bleſſed Virgin's Life deſtroyed. It is ſaid there was a Copy of it in the King's Hand, but that he took ſo much Delight in reading it, that rather than deprive him of that Pleaſure, ſo long as it was neceſſary to have it tranſcribed, the Lady Abbeſs muſt undergo the Trouble of writing it quite anew: Tho' as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and that from her own Words, the ſecond Hiſtory which ſhe writ under a new Confeſſor, was very different from the firſt, which ſhe had burnt.

For her Confeſſor, Father *Franciſco de la Torre*, having died in the Year 1647, the Provincial of the *Franciſcan* Order could not apppoint this Lady Abbeſs a Confeſſor: That great Affair having been by the Generals of that Order, for it has two, taken into their own Hands; and whilſt the Generals were deliberating where to find a fit Perſon for that weighty Employment; by a ſtrange Fatality, if it was not done with Deſign, the old *Mumpſimus*, who had made her burn all her Books and Papers, did return to be her Confeſſor again; and who was no ſooner in

that Poſt, than he obliged her to burn all the Writings which ſhe had by her of her deceaſed Confeſſor, Father *de la Torre's*; as if he had thought it unlawful for Women to have any Writings by them, as well as to write themſelves. This ſecond Prank of this old Confeſſor's, ſeems to give us ſome Light into the firſt, and lets us ſee, that, as the firſt Hiſtory was deſtroyed that a better might be writ under this Nun's Name by a new Confeſſor, that would be provided; ſo that no Evidences might remain of the firſt Hiſtories having been writ by Father *de la Torres*, the ſame old Confeſſor was made uſe of again, to oblige her to burn all the Writings which ſhe had by her of that Friar's. The two Generals having both died before a fitting Confeſſor could be found for this Nun; ſhe, now that all her own Books and Papers, and all Father *Torres's* were deſtroy'd, did reckon, that her Memory was to be quite forgot in the World; and at which, according to her humble Cuſtom, ſhe is ſaid to have rejoyced not a little. But that Joy of hers laſted not long, for in the Year 1650, ſhe had Father *Andres de Fuen Major*, one of the Wiſeſt and moſt Learned *Franciſcans* in *Spain*, appointed to be her Confeſſor, and who was aſſiſted in his Direction of her, by another *Franciſcan*, whoſe Name was *Michael Gutierrez*, an ancient Profeſſor of Divinity, who had been Provincial of his Order, and was at that Time

Time Qualificator of the Inquiſition. So that, whatever the matter was, this Nun, if ſhe had been Queen of *Spain*, could not have had more Care taken to provide able ſpiritual Guides for her than there was.

By theſe Directors the Lady Abbeſs was ſoon called on to write her Hiſtory a ſecond Time, and ſhe, according to her wonted Humility, having declined it, as a Burden too heavy for her weak Shoulders; ſhe was by her Confeſſor in Conjunction with her other Prelates, commanded on the Merit of Obedience, for to ſet about that Hiſtory preſently. In her Introduction to that Hiſtory, ſhe gives an Account of her having writ it twice; and which being very different from that which is given by the Writer of her Life, I ſhall ſet her Account down here in her own Words.

By the Will of the Lord, ſaith ſhe, *and the Order of Obedience, I did write this Divine Hiſtory a ſecond Time. When I firſt writ it, the Lights wherewith I ſaw Myſteries, were ſo abundant and fruitful, and my Shortneſs ſo great, that my Tongue, nor the Volacity of my Pen were able to expreſs the whole; and ſo, many things were not mentioned in it. But with Time, and new Intelligencies, at preſent I find my ſelf better diſpoſed for to write that Hiſtory; though I ſhall ſtill leave many things that I know, unſaid, to expreſs them all not being poſſible. Beſides, I have ſince, in the Lord, known ano-*

ther Reaſon; which is, That in the writing of that firſt Hiſtory, I attended too much to its Materials, and to the Order of the Work, and the Temptations, the Fears, and Tempeſts of Thoughts and Suggeſtions I was under at that time, made it a raſhneſs in me, being in ſuch an Eſtate, to put my Hand to ſo great a Work. It was this that cauſed me to yield ſo eaſily to the burning of that firſt Hiſtory, and which I believe was not done without the Lord's Permiſſion. For in ſo turbulent an Eſtate, that which was convenient could not be communicated to my Soul, nor could the Will of the moſt High be printed on my Spirits, ſo, as it is now, as may be gathered from the following Succeſs; which was, That ſhe was expreſly commanded both by Chriſt and the bleſſed Virgin, whoſe words to her ſhe ſets down at length to write that Hiſtory a ſecond time.

This Nuns undervaluing her firſt Hiſtory here ſo extreamly, and her ſaying, That it was a raſhneſs in her to write it when ſhe did, tho' ſhe is ſaid to have had an expreſs Command both from God and her Prelates to write it then, makes it, I think, pretty plain, that the burning of that firſt Hiſtory was no Blunder, as it was ſaid to have been, and a very wicked one; but was a formed deſign to have it deſtroyed, that another might be writ by a new Confeſſor, which they thought would do better under her Name. And her ſaying, That the great fault

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in her firſt Hiſtory was, that in it ſhe had attended too much to its Materials and Order; makes it probable, that that Hiſtory was written more like common Hiſtories, and not ſo Enthuſiaſtically as the Second is, which, to give it its due, has not, I believe, its fellow in any Language. Farther, let the account ſhe her ſelf gives here, of the great diſorder ſhe was in when ſhe writ her firſt Hiſtory, be but compared with what is ſaid by the Writer of her Life, of the heavenly tranquillity of Spirit ſhe was in at that time, and of the Devil's having been chained up on purpoſe that he might give her no interruption in the writing of it, and of her extraordinary Paſſive and Active, Interior, and Exterior Diſpoſitions for that Work. And let any one judge, whether that Writer, who had ſeen this Introduction, for he quotes it, went any farther for his Materials than to his Invention; the common Treaſury of Myſtical Writers, even when they ſtoop ſo low as to write Hiſtory. In which, as they are always very ſparing in relating outward Matters of Fact; ſo the few Facts which are related by them, do ſeldom ſeem to have had their Truth ſtrictly examined; ſuch an Examination being a drudgery, their elevated Minds know not well how to ſtoop to. And as to all other Matters, they are got into ſuch a road of them, that let but a few Matters of Fact be changed in the Lives which they

write, and they will equally ſerve for any of the *Spaniſh* Saints. So that in truth he that has read one of thoſe Lives, has in a manner read them all. And though it is true, that there is nothing the Myſtical Biographers do hunt after ſo much, as the ſaying ſomething of their Saints that may raiſe their Characters, that was never ſaid of any Saint before: Yet thoſe Singularities, when they have the good luck, as they reckon it, to light on them, are commonly ſo monſtrous and extravagant, that, with all judicious People, it would have been more both for their own, and for their Saints honour, that they had never been thought of. And whereas of all other Writers of Lives, the *Spaniards* are the moſt Romantick; ſo that fault may, I think, be imputed chiefly to their reading of the Novels, wherewith their Language abounds, ſo much when they are young. So this Nun's, and the other late *Spaniſh* Lives of Saints that I have ſeen, are all writ exactly after the Novel Mode; Having the ſame ſort of Thoughts, Turns, and Phraſes in them; though ſeldom ſo fine, or ſo well laid together, as they are in the Pattern.

The Lady Abbeſs, after ſhe had writ her ſecond Hiſtory, for ſo it was in truth, and not the ſame writ a ſecond time, is by the Writer of her Life ſaid to have ſoared ſtill higher and higher in the ſilent and hidden way.

But

But being now quite weary of following the Wild-Gooſe Chaſe of that Friar's fanatical Fancy and Invention, as I have reaſon to think the Reader will be too before this time: I ſhall here take my leave of that Writer, and for his ſake I am reſolved never to have any thing more to do with Myſtical Writers of Hiſtory, let them find Readers where they can. I ſhall here only add, That the Lady Abbeſs died in the Year 1665, and that the General of her Order having at *Madrid* heard of her being dangerouſly Sick, though he was ready to have taken Horſe to have gone to *Domingo de la Calcada*, to have held a general Chapter of his Order there; he, though it was threeſcore Miles out of his way, went to *Agreda* to ſee that Nun, and was met there by his Provincial, who was the Writer of this Life. And the General having reſolved not to leave *Agreda* before the Lady Abbeſs either died or recovered, he adjourned the general Chapter to a farther Day. Of ſo great moment was it thought to be to the whole *Franciſcan* Order, to have this Nun's Name, now they had raiſed it ſo high, ſupported, at and after her Death by her General and Provincial, that all the other buſineſs of that Order had a full ſtop put to it for that purpoſe.

And though we do not read of this Nun's having wrought any Miracles while ſhe was alive, beſides that of her having gone five hun-

hundred times from *Spain* to *New Mexico* in leſs than a Year; yet ſhe was no ſooner dead, than ſhe began to work Miracles, if we may believe her Provincial, who was with his General at *Agreda* when ſhe died, he does not relate any of thoſe Miracles; and the reaſon, he ſaith was, becauſe he had no Authority to do it. For, for ſeveral Reaſons it may be more convenient to lay up Miracles in ſilence, for a good many Years, and then publiſh them to the World, than to publiſh them as ſoon as they are ſaid to have been wrought.

As to the Hiſtory of the bleſſed Virgin, from the Minute of her immaculate Conception, until her Tranſlation to Heaven, which is ſaid to have been revealed by her to this Nun, and which has been printed in divers Places under her Name. It is ſo full of Stories taken out of Suppoſititious Books condemned about thirteen hundred Years ago, and larded ſo with Scholaſtical and Myſtical Learning, that none that are not ſtone Superſtition Blind, can help ſeeing, that it muſt have been written by one of great Reading in bad Books, and who was likewiſe a Maſter both in Myſtical and School Divinity. And this is ſo palpable, that one cannot enough deteſt the Forehead and Impious Falſhood of all that had any hand in the framing and putting ſo groſs an Impoſture on the World, as a divine Hiſtory; nor

nor enough pity the weakneſs and blindneſs of thoſe who do believe that Hiſtory was writ by this Nun, and by heavenly Revelation: And which all in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and other Popiſh Countries do, beſides the *Dominicans*, who for the ſake of the Teſtimony given in that Life to the Immaculate Conception, do ſhake their Heads at it as an Impoſture. Neither do the Jeſuits, I dare ſay, believe the wonderful Converſion in *New Mexico*, any more than they do the Story of Don *Quixot*; as in truth there is no Story in that Romance more incredible than that is.

I ſhall ſhut up this Account with what this Nun herſelf ſaith of that Life, at the end of her Introduction to it:

'In the twenty fifth Year of my Age, 'and of our Lord 1627, I yielded Obedi- 'ence to my being made the Prelate; and 'which Office, though unworthy of it, I 'do hold ſtill. During the firſt ten Years 'of my Prelacy, I received many Com- 'mands from the moſt High, and from the 'moſt grand Queen of Heaven to write her 'moſt holy Life. All which Commands I 'reſiſted with fear and trembling, until the 'Year 1637, when I began to write that 'Life the firſt time; and which after it 'was finiſhed, was burnt by me thro' the 'fore-mention'd Fear and Tribulations, and 'by the Counſel of a Confeſſor that aſſiſted

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'me in the abſence of my Principal, by
'whom I was governed. I did likewiſe with
'it, burn many more Papers, and which did
'all relate to that ſacred Hiſtory, and to o-
'ther important and myſterious Matters. For
'having been told by that Confeſſor, That
'in holy Church Women ought not to write;
'I readily obeyed him, and for having done
'it, I had afterwards moſt ſevere Reprehen-
'ſions from my Prelates, and from my Con-
'feſſor, who knew my whole Life. And be-
'ing threatned with Cenſures if I did not
'write it a ſecond time, the moſt High,
'and the Queen of Heaven repeated their
'Commands to me to obey. The Light
'which I had of the Divine Being, at this
'ſecond time, was ſo copious, and the Bene-
'fits communicated to me by the Right Hand
'of the moſt High, were ſo abundant, and
'which did all tend to the renewing of my
'poor Soul, and to the quickning of it in
'the knowledge of its divine Miſtreſs; and
'the Doctrines were ſo perfect, and the Sa-
'craments communicated to me ſo high, that
'I was obliged to make another Book of
'them, but which relates to this Hiſtory:
'its Title is, *The Laws of the Spouſe, and*
'*the Fruit gathered from the Tree of the*
'*Life of* Mary, *our moſt holy Lady.* Which
'Book, with the divine Favour, I began to
'write on the eighth of *December*, in the

'Year

' Year of our Lord 1655, being the Day of the ' moſt Pure and Immaculate Conception.

All that I ſhall ſay of this Narration, tho' a great deal might be ſaid of it, that if this Nuns prodigious Light and Knowledge in divine Matters, and chiefly in Scholaſtical and Myſtical Divinity, had not been all revealed to her from Heaven, that moſt profound Humility, for which ſhe is on all occaſions ſo much celebrated, could not poſſibly have ſuffered her to have magnified her own Light and her own Knowledge in all Myſteries, at the rate they are magnified by her here. And one thing farther, That of all her Prelates, her Confeſſor, who knew her whole Life, had the moſt reaſon to be angry with her for having burnt her firſt Hiſtory, and all the Papers relating to it: And eſpecially if her rejoycing at her having burnt that Life, becauſe that had made way for its being writ better, was not adjourned until after his Death, as I think it was.

The End of the Third Tract.

AN

HISTORY

OF THE

SCHISMS

Which have been in the

Roman See.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

——*Exclamet Malicerta periſſe,*
Frontem de rebus——

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THE

INTRODUCTION.

TO *mortifie the Confidence of the* Roman See *a little, in boasting so loud of its having been sent down from Heaven to be the great Instrument of Peace and Unity in the Christian Commonwealth, I did write and publish the following History of its Schisms; and to which, were a full History added of the many long and bloody Quarrels, which that* See *has pick'd with Emperors, and all other Christian and Sovereign Princes; it would be manifest to the World, That no Empire on Earth was ever erected at the expence of so much Blood, and by so many and great Rebellions of Subjects against their Lawful Sovereigns, and by so many unnatural Feuds and Dissentions in Royal, and other great Families; and by so many and so great Massacres of Innocent and Harmless People, as the Papal Empire has been. And in a word, that it has been so far from an Instrument of Peace and Unity, that it has been the greatest Firebrand of War and Dissentions, the Earth was ever plagued with.*

The most Learned Bishop Stillingfleet *has taken some notice of the Schisms which have been in the Papacy; but as most of those Schisms are but just named by him, so he is too short on the rest, to make a fuller History of them, not to be a thing necessary, to the setting of the Papacy in a true Light, as to its most popular, but groundless Pretence.*

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AN HISTORY OF THE SCHISMS

Which have been in the

ROMAN SEE.

THE First Schism that we read of in the *Roman See*, was that betwixt *Novatian* and *Cornelius*, and which Schism, *Ciaconius* saith, lasted near two hundred Years; there having been still a *Novatian* Bishop publickly in *Rome*, until the time of *Cœlestin* the First, by whom they were expelled that City.

The Second Schism in the *Roman See*, was that betwixt *Felix* and *Liberius*; they are both, in their turns, said to have been true Bishops of *Rome*; but whether they

were ſo or not, by the Ancients they are both ſaid to have been *Arian* Hereticks. One thing concerning them is remarkable, which is, That *Felix*, who is not reckoned among the Biſhops of *Rome* in the Catalogues of the Biſhops of that *See*, is in her Martyrology named a Saint and Martyr; and in which Martyrology, *Liberius*, who is reckoned Biſhop of *Rome* in thoſe Catalogues, is not mentioned. I do but juſt mention thoſe two firſt Schiſms in the *Roman See*, becauſe they were founded on a difference in Doctrines, and not on the right of Election.

The Third Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Urſicinus* and *Damaſus*. *Urſicinus* is ſaid by ſome to have been firſt choſen by thoſe who were of *Liberius*'s Party; and *Damaſus* to have been choſen ſeven Days after him, by thoſe who had adher'd to *Felix*. By others, *Damaſus* is ſaid to have been firſt Elected. But let that be as it will, by this Schiſm the City of *Rome* was long made a Scene of Chriſtian Blood, and of violent Bickerings, to the entertainment of the *Pagans*. Of which Chriſtian Tragedy, the following Account is given by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an heathen Hiſtorian, who lived at the time when it was acted; who ſpeaking of *Venantius*, Præfect of *Rome*, who ſucceeded *Lampadius*, he ſaith.

His Succeſſor *Venantius a Panonian*, who had been Exquiſitor of the Palace, was a Juſt and

and Prudent Man, his Administration was peaceable and quiet, and did flow with Plenty of all Things; he was much terrified by the bloody Seditions of the disagreeing People, which did make mad Work. For *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*, being above Measure eager to snatch the Episcopal See, did with their several Parties contend for it most violently, unto Death and Wounds; and which *Viventius* not being able either to suppress or mollify, was by its Violence drove into the Suburbs: *Damasus* had the better in the Conflict, that Party which favoured him, being the most eager. Certain it is that in the *Basilica* or *Sicininus*, where there is a Conventicle of the Christian Rites, in one Day there were found an hundred and thirty seven dead Bodies; neither were the enraged People easily quieted, and indeed considering the Ostentation of the Pomp of the City, I cannot deny, that they who are ambitious of that Office, ought with all their Force to contend for it; being, after they have obtained it, secure, and enriched by the Oblations of Matrons, going abroad curiously dressed sitting in their Litters; and so exact they are in their profuse Meals, that their Feasts do exceed those of Royal Tables. And who might be truly happy, if despising the greatness of the City, they did set themselves against Vice, and did live after the Example of some Provincial Bishops, whose great Abstinence in

Eating and Drinking, together with the meaneſs of their Cloaths, with their Eyes looking down upon the Ground, does conſtantly recommend them as pure and humble to the Deity, and to its true Worſhippers. Thus far *Marcellinus*.

This Schiſm laſted all *Damaſus*'s Time, and who having got the Emperor *Valentinianus*, and the Præfect *Maximinus* on his Side; he made great Uſe of the Ferity which was in both their natural Diſpoſitions, to perſecute, torment and deſtroy, *Urſicinus* and his Adherents, after the moſt cruel Manner.

And as during the whole Time of this Schiſm, and which laſted above eighteen Years, Paganiſm, which before had been brought very low in the City of *Rome*, did begin to revive, and look up again; as appears from the many rank Heathen Inſcriptions of that Time, which are ſtill extant. So in all likelihood it was the hot Contentions, Fightings and Slaughters, which were among the Chriſtians, on the Occaſion of this Schiſm, and of all which *Damaſus* appears to have been the chief Author, that gave this new Life to dying Paganiſm.

Upon *Amianus Marcellinus* having ſaid here, *That the Biſhops of* Rome *in his Days lived in great Eaſe, Plenty and Luxury*; and upon *Prætextatus* having uſed to ſay at the ſame time, *Make me Biſhop of* Rome, *and I will turn Chriſtian*. The Papal Champions cry out

out in Triumph, *behold how rich the* See *of* Rome *was become already* ; not conſidering, that it is not ſaid by either of thoſe two Heathens, that that *See*'s Wealth had come to her, by *Conſtantine*'s Donation, or by any other way, but by that, *of the Free Oblations of devout Women.*

The Fourth Schiſm in the *Roman See* was that, betwixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface* the Firſt, the Hiſtory of which Schiſm, being to be met with in the Authentick Letters of the Emperor *Honorius*, and of thoſe of *Symmachus* Præfect of the City of *Rome* at that Time ; it gives much Light into the Election of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and into the Power which the Emperors had over theſe Elections, and over the Perſons of the Biſhops after they were elected.

Symmachus, in his Report to the Emperor of that Election, tells him, that upon *Zozimus*'s Death, *Eulalius*, a pious Man, had been peaceably choſen Biſhop of *Rome*, by the whole Clergy almoſt ; and according to the Canons, and with the Obſervation of all the uſual Rites and Solemnities; but that a few Prieſts had afterwards met together, and in a Tumultuous Manner choſe one *Boniface.*

It is true, that *Symmachus*, by whom this Report of that Election was ſent to the Emperor, was not only a Pagan, but was alſo a great Bigot for Paganiſm ; nevertheleſs con-

ſidering, that neither *Eulalius* nor *Boniface*, were ever accuſed of being one more than the other, favourable to *Paganiſm*; and with which *Eulalius* would long ere now certainly have been charged, if there had been the leaſt Colour for it, I do not ſee why *Symmachus* having been a *Pagan*, ſhould at all leſſen the Credit of this Report. On the contrary, he might be the more impartial in it for that; ſince if he had been a Chriſtian, he would probably have been led by his Religion, to have been either on *Eulalius*, or *Boniface*'s Side: neither was it very ſafe for the Præfects of the City, to impoſe on the Emperors by falſe Reports, in a Matter wherein the Peace of the City of *Rome* was ſo much concerned, and which would in all likelihood, as it actually was, be brought before the Emperor to be examined by him.

Upon this Report, the Emperor fearing leaſt this Election might come to have the ſame Tragical Conſequences, as that of *Damaſus*'s and *Urſinus*'s had lately, he commanded *Symmachus* to require *Boniface*, forthwith to leave *Rome*; and if he found him refractory, to drive him out of it by force.

Upon this ſtrict Command of the Emperor's, *Boniface*, who had, I think, been choſen in the Suburbs, and had not been ſuffered by *Symmachus* after that, to come into the City, tho' he had with great Violence attempted to have enter'd it; did by

ſome

ſome of his Prieſts acquaint the Emperour with his Caſe, and how he had been Canonically choſen Biſhop of *Rome*, much againſt his Will.

Honorius, who was a juſt Prince, and a very good Chriſtian, did thereupon reſolve to hear the whole Matter himſelf, and having decided it, to take ſome Courſe to prevent ſuch dangerous Contentions about that Election for the Future; and being at this time in *Ravenna*, he commanded both *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, and their Adherents, to appear before him in that City, there to plead their ſeveral Cauſes; and to which Order, they having both yielded Obedience, the Emperor aſſembled a Council of Biſhops to examine that Election before him, and into which he would not ſuffer any Biſhop to enter, who had by any ways already declared himſelf on either Side.

But this Council being ſo divided in their Opinions, that the Emperor could come to no Reſolution, to keep the City of *Rome* quiet 'till he did, he ſecretly prohibited both *Eulalius* and *Boniface* to go near that City; and that *Rome* might not, by reaſon of their Abſence, be without a Biſhop to perform the Divine Services at *Eaſter*, which was then at hand; he did order *Achilleus* Biſhop of *Spoleto* to go thither and officiate; intending, ſoon after that Feſtivity was over, to have aſſembled a Council of other Biſhops; and among them to have had *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*,

Nola, for whom, on the Account of his extraordinary Piety, he had a very great Reſpect, and was very deſirous to have ſeen him.

But *Eulalius*, notwithſtanding the Emperor's Prohibition, repaired to *Rome*; and being got there before *Achilleus*, as he was preparing to have performed the divine Offices of *Eaſter* in the *Lateran* Church, he was aſſaulted by an armed Multitude, who were of *Boniface*'s Party; and *Symmachus* having gone thither, either to quiet or ſuppreſs that Sedition, he found them ſo ſtrong, and furious, that he narrowly eſcaped having been murdered by them; with which great Tumult when the Emperor was acquainted, he commanded *Eulalius* to be forthwith baniſhed out of *Rome*; and did declare, that for having been the Author of a publick Sedition, by going to that City contrary to his Command, he had rendered himſelf unworthy of that *See*; and did thereupon, without aſſembling the Council which he had called, and without any farther Examination, declare *Boniface* Biſhop of *Rome*. So that it was for his Diſobedience to the Emperor's Commands, and not for his Election having been found faulty, that *Eulalius* loſt the *Roman See*.

And that the City of *Rome* might be no more diſturbed by ſuch Tragedies, upon the Election of her Biſhops, the Emperor commanded *Boniface* to let all the Clergy of *Rome* know, *That it was his Will, that they* ſhould

ſhould ceaſe from Ambition, on all ſuch Occaſions; and that if two did contend for the Roman See, *tho' they were choſen and ordained, neither of them ſhould have it, but that another, who had never contended for it, ſhould be choſen,* that the Peace of the City might be preſerved.

Here we ſee plainly, from a continued Thread of authentick Writings, and not from Scraps, which may have fallen inconſiderately from running Pens, how great the Emperor's Power was at this Time over the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and over the Perſons of thoſe Biſhops likewiſe; and how neceſſary ſuch a Power was, to bridle the Ambition of that proud City; which the Chriſtian, the moſt humble of all Religions, was ſo little able to curb.

The Fifth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Symmachus*, and *Laurentius*; this Schiſm laſted ſeveral Years, and cauſed many great Commotions in the City, being at firſt powerfully ſupported by Senators on both ſides. *Laurentius* was favoured by moſt Biſhops, and to his great Honour was adhered to by *Paſcaſius* the Deacon, a Man famous for Piety and Learning 'till his Death; from the Guilt of which Sin, Pope *Gregory* having ſpoke of Miracles which were wrought by *Paſcaſius*'s dead Body, ſaith, he might be purged in the next World.

Symmachus, to ſecure the *Roman See* to himſelf, made his Court to *Theodorick* the

Gothick

Gothick King of *Italy*, notwithſtanding he was a profeſſed *Arian* Heretick; and to oblige that Prince, he quarrelled with the Emperor *Valerianus*, that he might leſſen his Authority in the City. For which Service, *Theodorick* called a Synod in *Rome*, eſtabliſh'd his Friend *Symmachus* in the *Roman See*. This Synod, as well as *Symmachus*, was ſo complaiſant to *Theodorick*, tho' a profeſſed *Arian*, as to give him the Epithets of *the moſt Pious and Religious Prince*; and are, for ſo doing, juſtified by *Baronius*, who, in all Matters wherein the Authority of the *Roman See* is any way concerned, is the moſt partial Hiſtorian that ever writ. I take notice of that in this Place, becauſe it affords us a clear Inſtance of it. *Baronius* reckoning, that to have it believed that a Synod was called in *Rome* by any but by the Pope, would be a great Diminution of the Papal Authority. He flatly denies that this Synod was called by King *Theodorick*, notwithſtanding the Synod it ſelf ſaith expreſly it was. And as it was by this means *Symmachus* eſtabliſhed himſelf in the *Roman See*; ſo it was by ſuch rebellious Sidings, either with the Subjects, or with Foreign Princes againſt their lawful Sovereign the Emperors, that that *See* was raiſed to a Principality with great Territories belonging to it. The Princes by whom *Italy* was invaded, having been content to allow their Friends, the Biſhops of *Rome*, a great

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Authority in the City, and in the adjacent Countries, the better to ſecure to themſelves their other *Italian* Conqueſt. And as Rebellion was plainly the Foundation of the Papal Secular Empire; ſo that Empire, aſſiſted with a thouſand Frauds, was as plainly the Foundation of the Papal Eccleſiaſtical.

The Sixth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Boniface* and *Dioſcorius*, to which Schiſm a Period was put quickly, by the latter's dying ſoon after he was choſe.

The Seventh Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Silverius* and *Vigilius*, who were both *Simonaicks*. *Silverius* having both given Money to *Theodatus* the *Gothick* King in *Italy*, and promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Emperor. *Theodatus* compelled the *Roman* Clergy to chooſe him, threatning to put them to the Sword if they did not. But the great *Belliſarius* the Emperor's General, having not long after made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, upon Information of *Silverius*'s holding Intelligence with the *Goths*, by whom the City was blocked up, and of his having promiſed to let them into it, he baniſhed *Silverius* into *Greece*, and from whence, tho' he returned quickly into *Italy*, he was not ſuffered to come to *Rome*, but was confined to an Iſland that was near it, where he died.

Vigilius, who had long before laid in for the *Roman See*, having got Pope *Boniface* to name him for his Succeſſor; being at *Conſtantinople*,

tinople, at the time when *Silverius* was choſen, and where he was much in Favour with the Empreſs *Theodata*, he obtained Letters of Recommendation from her to *Belliſarius*; and having come to *Rome* with them, and promiſed that General a very great Sum of Money, he was by his Authority choſe Biſhop of *Rome*, above a Year before *Silverius*'s Death; and who, tho' he was a Priſoner at that Time, did excommunicate him as an Intruder, and a *Simonaick*.

Now *Vigilius*'s having continued Biſhop of *Rome*, above twelve Years after *Silverius*'s Death, and died poſſeſſed of that *See*, and having ever ſince been reckoned the true Biſhop of *Rome*, no leſs than *Silverius*; *Baronius* was in a great Plung, how to repair this Breach, which is made in the Papal Succeſſion, by *Vigilius*'s having ſtill held the *Roman See* by Virtue of that Election, which was made whilſt *Silverius* was alive. And therefore, right or wrong, he will have *Vigilius* to have been choſen Biſhop of *Rome* a ſecond Time after *Silverius*'s Death, which as it is a Thing that was never ſaid by any before that I heard of, ſo neither had he any other Colour for his affirming it; beſides *Anaſtaſius* who lived near two hundred Years after, and was far from being an acurate Writer, having ſaid, that the *Roman See* was vacant ſix Days after *Silverius*'s Death, but without a Syllable of *Vigilius*'s having been choſe a ſecond Time;

Time; and whether thoſe Words may not have been foiſted into *Anaſtaſius*, by ſome late Hand, to give ſuch a Colour, I ſhall leave to the Enquiry of thoſe who have that Hiſtorian in Manuſcript. But let that be as it will, it is a very unlikely thing, that *Vigilius*, who had ſat quietly above a Year, in the *Roman See* before *Silverius*'s Death, ſhould deſire to be choſen a ſecond Time; or that if he had deſired it, that *Belliſarius* would have ſuffered it to have been done; neither is *Baronius* his Argument againſt *Silverius* having been a *Simonaick*, and which he is poſitively ſaid to have been any better; which is, that *Silverius* could not be guilty of *Simony*, becauſe he publickly charged his Adverſary *Vigilius*, with having been guilty of it, as if Pope *Julius* the Second, having made the moſt ſevere Law that ever was againſt coming into the *Roman See* by *Simony*; had ſatisfied any Body, of that Pope's not having ſtole into that *See* by that Back-door. For tho' it is true, that it is not eaſy to bear with *Clodius*'s accuſing others of Adultery, nor with *Cethegus*'s complaining of Sedition, yet that is one of the heavy Burdens the *Roman* Biſhops have often laid upon the World, let them bear it as they can.

The Eighth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Paul* and *Theophilact*, the latter ſeems to have been choſen firſt, but he having been overpowered by *Paul*, who had the Peo-

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ple on his ſide, was driven out of the City.

The Ninth Schiſm in the *Roman See* was betwixt *Eugenius* and *Zinzinus*, all that we know of this Schiſm is, that it raiſed ſo great Commotions in the City, that the Emperor *Lewis*, was obliged to ſend his Son *Lotharius* to ſuppreſs them; and by whom, to prevent ſuch Diſturbances for the future, a Law was made, Prohibiting *All free Men, and Servants, beſides thoſe to whom it belonged by the Ancient Canons, upon pain of Baniſhment, to meddle in the Election of the Biſhop of* Rome.

The Tenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* and *Anaſtaſius*: *Benedict* was firſt choſen, and by a great Majority; but *Anaſtaſius* having the Emperor's Officers on his ſide, did with their Aſſiſtance force his way into the Lateran Church; and having found *Benedict* there, he dragged him from the Altar; and having ſtripped him of his Pontifical Habit, and handled him unmercifully, he threw him into a Goal, where he had not been long, before the Emperor's Officers were by the fury of the People, compelled to releaſe him, and to ſuffer him to enjoy his Biſhoprick.

The Eleventh Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Formoſus* and *Sergius*, this Schiſm laſted many Years, and was carried on by Outrages which are not any where to be parallel'd.

Formoſus, having by Money gained a great Majority in the City, he was ſtrong enough to

to dragg *Sergius* from the Altar of the Lateran Church, where his Party was ready to have declared him Biſhop of *Rome*. And to get himſelf choſe. Two Things however were ſtill objected by the *Sergians*, againſt *Formoſus*, the one was, that he was a Biſhop, and that it was againſt the Canons to chooſe a Biſhop to another *See*, neither had it ever been offered at in *Rome* before; the other was, that he had taken an Oath to Pope *Leo*, by whom he had been depoſed, and baniſhed, never to return any more to *Rome*. By theſe Objections *Formoſus* was ſhaken ſo in his *See*, which he had bought, that finding his Intereſt in the City did decline daily, to ſtrengthen himſelf, he invited the *Cothick* King *Arnulph*, to come to *Rome*, and which that King having done, to gratify and eſtabliſh his Friend *Formoſus*, he did put all the Nobles in *Rome* to the Sword, who were ſuſpected to have been Friends to *Sergius*. By this means *Formoſus* held the *Roman See* as long as he lived; but *Stephen* the Sixth having been choſe Pope ſoon after, this Schiſm was revived again with great Fury, upon the foot of the validity of *Formoſus*'s Ordinations; and Pope *Stephen* having aſſembled a Synod in *Rome*, he did command Pope *Formoſus*'s Body to be taken out of its Grave, and to be brought into the Synod; where having put it in a Sacerdotal Habit, Pope *Stephen* as if it had been alive, asked it,

Formoſus, why did you, being Biſhop of Portua, *with great Ambition uſurp the* Roman See. To which queſtion *Formoſus*'s dead Body having returned no Anſwer, the Pope commanded it to be ſtrip'd preſently of its Sacerdotal Habit, and having cut off three of its Fingers, it was thrown into the River *Tibur*, as unworthy of Chriſtian Burying; and all Pope *Formoſus*'s Ordinations, were by Pope *Stephen*, pronounced void.

Under this infamy Pope *Formoſus*, and his Ordinations did lye all Pope *Stephen*'s time; but they had their Honours reſtored, by Pope *John* the Ninth, who ſucceeded *Stephen*; and who having for that purpoſe called a Council at *Ravenna*, and which it would not have been ſafe for him to have aſſembled in *Rome* to have done that Work; he condemned all that Pope *Stephen* had done, and did declare *Formoſus*'s Ordinations, to have been Canonical. *Benedict* the Fourteenth, having within forty Days after he was in the *Roman See*, been dragged out of it, and thrown into a Goal by *Chriſtopher*; and *Chriſtopher* before he was warm in it, having likewiſe been dragged out of it, and thrown into a Goal by *Sergius*; *Sergius*, as ſoon as he was choſe Biſhop of *Rome*, did call a Synod, in which he condemned all that had been done by Pope *John*, and did a ſecond time pronounce all Pope *Formoſus*'s Ordinations void; which Sentence of *Sergius*'s was never,

ver, ſo far as I can ſee, revoked. His immediate Succeſſors having been all of the *Sergian* Party; for *John* the Tenth was raiſed to the *Roman See*, by the great Power of the infamous Strumphet *Theodora*, whoſe Gallant he was; and who after he had ſate fourteen Years in that *See*, was dragged out of it, and murthered by the Power of *Marozia*, a no leſs infamous Strumpet; and *John* the Eleventh, who was her Son by *Sergius*, was made Biſhop of *Rome*.

This direful Scene of Popes, ſet *Baronius* a canting, and railing at Proteſtants; for looking on it, according to that Cardinal's conſtant Practice, who whenever he meets with a blot in the Papacy, which he knows not how to cover, does by paſſionate Excurſions into godly Remarks, and by beſtowing hard Names upon Proteſtants, ſeek to amuſe his Readers, that he may divert their Eyes from it. And as the Authority of the *Roman See* was a thing that Cardinal had continually in his Eye, ſo, to give him his due, he ſeems to have weighed, and managed every thing that any ways belongs to that *See*, with a Penetration, and Dexterity far beyond all its other Champions; and ſo to give a turn to this Scene, which naturally had ſo malign an Aſpect on the *Roman See*, that ſhould make it appear to have been for that *See's* Advantage, he devoutly pronounceth this Succeſſion of abominable Popes, a Demonſtration,

that the Supream Authority of the *Roman See* can never poſſibly be deſtroyed; for if it could, ſaith he, ſuch a long Succeſſion of Monſters in Vice and Folly, muſt infallibly have ruined it. Not conſidering that that *See* hath ſince that time, by various great Mutations in the Empire, and by numberleſs Frauds and Rebellions, acquired the main of that Authority, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, it is now poſſeſſed of. Neither does this Demonſtration of *Baronius*'s, at all reach the great Point of the uninterrupted Succeſſion of the *Roman* Biſhops, on which ſo great a weight is laid. For as the forementioned are in that Succeſſion all reckoned to have been true Biſhops of *Rome*; ſo conſidering how they were made Biſhops of that City, either by *Simony*, or by the armed Power of Princes, or by the Intreagues of infamous Strumpets; and how ſome of them did ſit in that *See*, whilſt their Predeceſſors, whom they had dragged out of it, were rotting in Goals, into which they had thrown them; and how others of them, did with an unparallel'd rage dig their Predeceſſors Bodies out of their Graves, and having handled them moſt inhumanly, did condemn their Synodical Acts and Ordinations: all this being known, it is not eaſy for one to have any great Reverence for that Succeſſion, or to think that there can be any great Certainty, or Order in ſo direful and ſo confuſed a Scene; neither is that which the

next Schiſm opens, much leſs tragical and diſorderly.

The Twelfth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *John* the Twelfth, *Leo* and *Benedict*.

John was by the great Power of his Father Count *Albarick* made Biſhop of *Rome*, when he was but eighteen Years old. He was a moſt vile Debauchee, and having ſoon found himſelf much oppreſſed by his Vices, and by *Berengarius* King of *Italy*, to make himſelf eaſie in the former, he did ſet himſelf to leſſen the Power of that Prince, and if it were poſſible to remove him out of his Neighbourhood. And for that end he ſent Nuncio's privately into *Germany*, to beſeech *Otho* King of *Saxony*, for God's ſake to come into *Italy*, to ſuppreſs the Power of that Tyrant, binding himſelf with an Oath to aſſiſt him in it to the utmoſt; *Otho* did accept of his Invitation, and having marched with a good Army into *Italy*, he did ſoon drive *Berengarius* out of it, and when he came to *Rome*, was received there by that Pope with all poſſible expreſſions of Joy and Gratitude; and was ſoon after crowned Emperor by him.

Now its having been the Cuſtom of all Chriſtian Emperors, and Kings, to be crowned by the Biſhop of their Metropolis; that Cuſtom, after Princes fell a ſcrambling for the Weſtern Part of the *Roman* Empire, was

of no ſmall Advantage to the Biſhop of *Rome*, all the Pretenders to that part of the *Empire*, being glad upon any terms almoſt to make that Biſhop their Friend, that they might be crowned by him in *Rome*. And by this Door it was, that that Biſhop did, by degrees ſlide, not only into the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Countries about it, but alſo into a pretence of a Right to nominate the Emperors, becauſe they had uſed to be crowned by him: And tho' the Exerciſe of this pretended Right has never paſſed currently, yet that no Prejudice may be done to that Pretence, the Biſhop of *Rome* will not to this Day give the Title of Emperor to any, whoſe Election he has not approved of, by having crowned them Emperors. And thus from a Miniſter to the Emperors, the Biſhop of *Rome* riſe to be their Lord, or at leaſt to a Pretence that he is ſo; the aſſerting of which pretended Right, has coſt many thouſands of Chriſtians their Lives, who had no more wit than to fight heartily againſt their natural Sovereign, and their native Country, to exalt a foreign Biſhop, from being their Prince's Miniſter, to be his Lord, and their own too, to their great Prejudice.

But *Otho*, tho' he was well pleaſed with the Pope for his great Zeal in his Service, yet being a religious Prince, he was ſo much offended with his Vices, that he could not forbear telling him of them, and exhorting him

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to reform his Life : With which free Admonitions the Pope was ſo incenſed, that *Otho* had no ſooner left *Rome*, than the Pope began to plot how to keep him from returning to it any more; and being now much more ſolicitous to have *Otho* ſent back into *Germany* again, than he was formerly for to have him come into *Italy*, he diſpatched ſome Nuncio's privately to *Adelbert*, the Son of *Berengarius*, who was among the *Alps* with a flying Body of Troops, to invite him to come to *Rome*, and did at the ſame time, ſend Nuncio's to *Conſtantinople* to invite the Emperor into *Italy*, and other Nuncio's into *Hungary*, to ſtir up the *Hunns* to invade *Saxony*.

When *Otho* was firſt told, at *Pavia*, of this Conſpiracy of the Pope's, he would not believe it ; but told the Informer, that as he did not think it was poſſible for any Man to be ſo deſperately Wicked as the Pope was reported to be ; ſo neither did he think, that it was poſſible for any Man to be ſo ungrateful to one, that had ſo lately delivered him ; but having been perſuaded to ſend ſome to *Rome*, in whoſe Capacity and Probity he could confide, to enquire into the Matter ; thoſe Meſſengers when they were come thither, found it in every Body's Mouth, that the Pope did hate the Emperor for the ſame Reaſon, that the Devil hated his Maker ; and that the Pope was certainly in a Correſpondence with *Adel-*

bert, and did want to have him in *Rome*, for no other end but to protect and ſupport him in his Pleaſures, which he ſaw the Emperor would not do; that he did publickly keep *Rainerus*'s Widdow, and was ſo deſperately in love with her, that he deny'd her nothing, no not the Plate of the Churches; and that beſides her, he kept one *Stephana* and others, the *Lateran* being turned by him into a Brothel Houſe; and that he had given himſelf wholly up to his Pleaſures, and did never expreſs any regard for Religion.

When this Report was made to the good Emperor, he ſaid the Pope was a young Man, and might by the Arm of the higheſt, and by good Examples and Admonitions be reclaimed; let us therefore ſaid he, go firſt againſt *Adelbert*, and having reduced him, we will try what good may be done upon the Pope, of whoſe Plotting againſt him, the Emperor was then fully ſatisfied; the Nuncio's which were ſent by the Pope to *Conſtantinople*, and to *Hungary*, having been taken at *Capua*, with the Pope's Letters about them, and that by the Contrivance, as the Pope ſuſpected, of thoſe who were to have gone to *Conſtantinople*.

The Pope being much troubled at this, diſpatched Nuncio's forthwith to *Otho*, and who having waited on him at *Ravenna*, as he was going againſt *Adelbert*, they did aſſure him, that the Pope was grown weary of the

the Pleaſures he had been hurried into by the heat of his Youth; and that though he was much the Emperor's Servant, he could not but take it ill that he had entertained two Perſons that had been unfaithful to him, and that he had not as yet given him ſome Lands which he had promiſed him. *Otho* told the Nuncio's, he was glad to hear of the Pope's having ſome Thoughts of reforming his Life, and that as to the two Perſons who the Pope ſaid had been unfaithful to him, he had never ſeen either of them, but did hear of their being taken at *Capua*, as they were going from him to *Conſtantinople*, to his Prejudice; and that with them, two more had been taken, who were *Saleccus* by birth a *Bulgarian*, but a *Hungarian* by Education, and one *Zachary* a moſt profligate Man, whom, tho' he had no ſort of Learning, the Pope had lately made a Biſhop, and who were both ſent by him into *Hungary*, to ſtir up the *Hunns* to invade his *Dominions* in *Germany*. Theſe were things he ſaid, he ſhould never have believed, if he had not ſeen the Pope's own Letter about them; and as to the Lands, he ſaid, until *Adelbert* was drove out of *Italy*, it was not in his Power to give them to the Pope, or to any body elſe.

The Pope, fearing what might be the iſſue of this new War which he had raiſed, did to amuſe the Emperor, and to gain time, diſpatch other Nuncio's to him; with whom whilſt

whilſt the Emperor was treating, *Adelbert*, upon the Pope's Invitation, did throw himſelf into *Rome*, where he was highly careſſed by the Pope, and who did all that was in his Power to ingage the whole City to declare for him. But *Adelbert* and his Friend the Pope had not been long there together, before the Emperor went with his whole Army to have given them a Viſit; and who finding that the City would not ſtand by them, they both left it to the Emperor, who was received by the whole Clergy, and by all the Senators with great Expreſſions of Joy; and who having all taken an Oath, *never to chooſe a Biſhop of* Rome, *without the Emperor and his Son* Otho's *Conſent*, did ſupplicate him to call a Synod preſently, to ſettle Matters. The Emperor did ſo, and in that Synod, beſides the Clergy and Nobles of *Rome*, were preſent a great Number of *Italian*, *German*, and *French* Biſhops: The Emperor opened the Synod with a Speech, in which he told them, that tho' it would have been very proper to have had the Pope among them; that ſince he declined coming, he deſired them to conſult together about what was neceſſary to be done. The whole Synod anſwered that they could not but admire his Majeſty's Temper, but there was no need of conſulting about the Pope, whoſe Vices were ſo Notorious that they were known to the *Caldeans*, *Iberians*, and *Indians*; the Pope having ſcorned to be

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at any Pains to cover them. The Emperor reply'd that tho' it might be ſo, yet he judged it was juſt to have the Pope's Crimes particularly named, and proved. *Peter* a Cardinal Presbyter ſtanding up, did affirm that he had ſeen the Pope ſay Maſs without Communicating himſelf, that he once ſaw him ordain a Deacon in his Stables: And one *Benedict* and all the reſt of the Clergy ſtanding up, did aver that the Pope had ordained Biſhops for Money, and had ordained one a Biſhop who was but eighteen Years old; and that the Pope's Sacrileges were known to every body, and that beſides *Raynerus*'s Widow, he kept as his Strumpets, one *Stephana*, who had been his Fathers Concubine, and one *Anna* and her Niece; and that he had put out the Eyes of *Benedict*, his Godfather, who died of it, and had caſtrated *John* a Subdeacon Cardinal, and had afterwards put him to Death; that he was much addicted to Hunting and Gaming, and did commonly invocate Devils to help him to good Luck, and had often drank the Devil's Health: That he never uſed any Prayers, nor ſigned himſelf with the ſign of the Croſs; and had been many times ſeen by the whole City and Army on Horſe-back, with a Sword by his Side, and all in Armour. Upon this the black and heavy Charge having been given in by the whole Synod againſt the Pope, the good Emperor ſolemnly adjured them all as they ſhould

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anſwer it to God, who could not be deceived, not to charge the Pope with any thing out of Malice, or any other Paſſion; or with any thing that they did not know him to have been guilty of.

The whole Synod reply'd, if Pope *John* is not guilty of all the Crimes, and of many more, and greater than we have laid to his Charge, may our Sins never be forgiven us, and may we at the laſt Day be ſet at the Left-hand with thoſe who had bid God depart from them; but the Synod finding the Emperor was ſtill ſomething Scrupulous, they deſired him to write to the Pope, who was with *Adelbert* but a little way from *Rome*, and to invite him to come among them, to vindicate himſelf if he could: The Emperor did ſo, and with his Letter, ſent a ſafe Conduct to the Pope to come, and go. The Pope returned no Anſwer to the Emperor, but did ſend word to the Synod, that being informed of their having an intention to depoſe him, he did in the Name of Almighty God, Excommunicate them all, ſo that they had no Power to Ordain, nor Celebrate the Maſs. The Synod's Anſwer was, that they regarded Pope *John*'s Excommunication no more than they would have done that of the Traytor *Judas*, however the Emperor was reſolved to give the Pope one call more; but they that carried his Letters, not having been ſuffered to ſee the Pope, they brought them back again

gain with them. Upon that, the Emperor told the Synod, he had deferred telling them of one thing, becauſe he would gladly have had the Pope to have heard it; but ſince there remained now no hopes of his coming among them, he would tell it them preſently; it was, that the Pope finding himſelf much oppreſſed by *Berengarius* and *Adelbert*, had ſent Nuncio's to him into *Germany*, to beg him, for God's ſake, to come to his Relief, promiſing with an Oath to aſſiſt him to the uttermoſt. Upon that Invitation he had come into *Italy*, and did reſcue the Pope out of the Jaws of thoſe Tyrants; but notwithſtanding this, and that Pope's having taken a ſolemn Oath of Fidelity to him, he had brought *Adelbert* back to *Rome*, and raiſed great Seditions, and appeared againſt him in Arms, as if he had been a Captain, and not a Biſhop; he did therefore require the Synod to conſult together what was fit to be done. The whole Synod anſwered, the Pope ought to be depoſed for his Wickedneſs, and for having by his ill Example debauched the City, and another ought to be choſen in his Room; who will by his good Life, teach People their Duty. The Emperor ſaid there was nothing he deſired more than that they ſhould have a good Biſhop, and required them to chooſe ſuch an one. The whole Synod cry'd, we would have the venerable *Leo*, a Man of known Probity, and the Emperor having given

given his Consent to it; *Leo* was chosen and ordained Bishop of *Rome*, by the unanimous Voice of the whole Synod.

By this Act of this good Emperor's and holy Synods, *Baronius* was thrown into a perfect Rage, and does with great Fury declaim, *That never did any Orthodox Synod before, so offend the Ecclesiastical Rights, so violate the Canons, so wound Tradition, so oppress Truth, lay Justice so prostrate, as this Synod had done.* With all which heavy Crimes the Emperor, and the Synod, who by all that appears, were Zealous for God and his Honour, are charged, for no other Reason but for their having deposed a Bishop of *Rome*, whom *Baronius* himself does not deny, to have been one of the greatest Monsters of all sorts of Wickedness that ever was heard of: But whatever *Baronius*, and other politick Papal Parasites, may now think of the *Roman See*, the Bishops and Clergy in those Days, no more than the late Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basil*, did reckon the *Roman See* to have the Privilege, above all others, of not having its Bishops deposed, let them be never so irreligious and wicked; neither did they think that such a Privilege would be of any Advantage to the *Roman*, or to any other *See*. But to return: The Emperor having given the Clergy, and the Senators of *Rome*, the Contentment of easing them of Pope *John*; to make them yet easier, he did order his Army

Army to leave the City and go into Quarters in the Country, keeping about him, only a few *German* Soldiers, and it was well he did, and that they were brave Men, for he had otherwiſe certainly been murdered, by a furious Sedition raiſed in the City by Pope *John*'s Strumpets, and other lewd Companions, whom that Pope had, for that end, furniſh'd with a great Sum of Money. The Emperor having by the great Valour of the *Germans*, by whom a much greater Number of *Romans* were ſlain, narrowly eſcaped this great Danger; he ſaw plainly the *Romans* were not to be truſted by him: And being by his Affairs obliged to leave *Rome* for ſome Time, he required an hundred Hoſtages of the City, intending to have taken them with him as a Pledge of their Fidelity; but Pope *Leo*, to make himſelf popular in *Rome*, did perſwade the Emperor, before he went, to releaſe all thoſe Hoſtages, and to truſt to the new Oath of Fidelity, which had been taken to him by the whole City. This Piece of Policy, or Clemency, had like to have coſt that Pope dear, for the Emperor had not left *Rome* long before Pope *John* was by his looſe Crew brought, in Triumph, into it again. Pope *Leo* did make his Eſcape, but one *John* a Cardinal, and the Chancellor *Azon*, having fallen into Pope *John*'s Hands, he cut off that Cardinal's Noſe, and did ſlit the Chancellor's, cut out his Tongue, and cut

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off two of his Fingers; and having mangled them thus, he ſent them to the Emperor, and to his new Pope, to be cured by them. And having preſently after called a Synod in *Rome*, he reverſed all that had been done in the former to his Prejudice. But Pope *John* having, after his Reſtoration, purſued his lewd Pleaſures more eagerly than before, did quickly put a Period both to his Tyranny and to his Life; for having received a mortal Wound one Night, when he was in Bed with a married Woman, he died of it in eight Days. His untimely Death, was a great Blow to his Party, they nevertheleſs had the Courage to advance one *Benedict* immediately to the *Roman See*; but *Benedict* was not able to hold it long, the Emperor, and who brought Pope *Leo* along with him, having returned ſoon after to *Rome*, he forthwith called a Synod, before which Pope *Benedict* was brought in his Pontifical Robes; and being asked by one *Benedict* a Cardinal, *how he durſt preſume to uſurp the* Roman See, *knowing Pope* Leo *to be alive*; *and whether he had forgot the Oath which had been taken by him, and by the whole Clergy, and Nobles of* Rome, *never to chooſe a Biſhop without the Emperor's Conſent.* Pope *Benedict* anſwered not a Word, but threw himſelf on the Ground at Pope *Leo*'s Feet, and having confeſſed his Fault, he took off his Pontifical Robes himſelf and delivered them to *Leo*, and having continued

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in the ſame Poſture; the following Sentence was paſſed upon him.

That for having invaded the Roman See, *he was deprived of the Honours of a Biſhop and Presbyter; but, upon the Emperor's Interceſſion for him, was allowed to exerciſe the Office of a Deacon, but not in* Rome, *out of which he was to be baniſhed.* He was accordingly, the Emperor having taken him into *Germany*, where he died in Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Hamburgh.*

Pope *Leo* died the ſame Year, and two Nuncio's were diſpatched by the Clergy, and City of *Rome*, into *Germany*, to know whom the Emperor would have them chooſe; *John* Biſhop of *Narni*, having been nominated by the Emperor, he was unanimouſly choſen Biſhop of *Rome.*

Baronius, on the Year 996, quotes part of the Decree ſaid to be made by this Pope *Leo*, in which a Power is given to *Otho*, to name his Succeſſors to the Empire, now it being for the Advantage of the *Roman See*, to have this believed; that Cardinal makes great Uſe of it in that Place, to prove how great the Authority of that *See* was in thoſe Days, and does treat the Decree it ſelf, and the Pope by whom it was made with reſpect; having forgot, or rather hoped that his Readers had, that when that whole Decree was recited by him in the Year 984, he, for its having eſtabliſhed, that a Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall never be

choſen without the Emperos's Conſent, had rejected its Authority, and called it expreſly an Impoſture, and a ſpurious Writing, denying the Pope by whom it was ſaid to have been made, to be the true Biſhop of *Rome*; and thus it is with all Ancient Writings which do come in that Cardinal's Way, they are all ſpurious if they have any thing in them, to the Diſadvantage of the Papal Authority, and are all certainly genuine if they do any ways ſeem to make for it, and ſo here one and the ſame Decree is for that Reaſon, both, in diſtant Places.

The Thirteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* the Sixth, and *Boniface* the Seventh; *Benedict* had ſate two Years in the *Roman See*, when he was dragged out of it by *Boniface*, by whom he was firſt thrown into Priſon, and ſoon after ſtrangled in it: And *Boniface* had ſate but a little above a Year in that *See*, when he was forced by another *Benedict*, Biſhop of *Sutrum*, to deſert it; but before he went, he ſtripped the Vatican Church of every thing that was in it of any value, and carried it all with him to *Conſtantinople*; where having remained 'till he heard of the Death of Pope *Benedict* the Seventh, by whom he had been driven away; he returned to *Rome*, and finding *John* the Fourteenth advanced to that *See*, he dragged him out of it too; and having loaded him with

with Chains, he ſhut him up in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, where he died of Hunger.

Baronius was ſo much aſhamed of this Pope *Boniface*, that he would fain have him not reckoned among the Biſhops of *Rome*; but it is now too late for that; for beſides that he is in all the Catalogues of their Popes; *Boniface* the Eighth's Number will not be right, if this Pope was not the Seventh of that Name.

The Fourteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Gregory* the Fifth, and *John*. *Gregory* was nominated by the Emperor, and upon that Nomination was choſen Biſhop of *Rome*; but his Election being oppoſed by one *Creſſentino* a powerful *Roman* Citizen, by his great Power, *John* was choſen in Oppoſition to him. This Schiſm laſted not long, and did end tragically; for *Creſſentino* was ſoon after ſubdued by the Emperor, and his Pope *John* having fallen into his Adverſary Pope *Gregory*'s Hands, to render him Uncanonical, he had his Eyes dug out, and his Noſe cut off.

To this unfortunate Pope *John*, *Nilus* the famous *Greek* Hermit, had been a great Friend; and tho' *John* would not ſome Years before be perſwaded by him to leave the World; yet *Nilus*, when he heard of the Barbarities which had been exerciſed on *John* in *Rome*, and of his lying there ſtill in a Goal, he did reſolve to go into the City, and to

bring him back with him. The Emperor and the Pope having had Notice that *Nilus* was coming, they went out of the City to meet him, and having conducted him to the *Lateran* Church, and placed him betwixt them, they both kiſſed his Hand with great Devotion: *Nilus* received all theſe Complements, but as he told both the Pope and the Emperor, not as extraordinary Honours, but as the greateſt Mortifications that he had ever met with in his Life. And after he had been thus ſufficiently mortify'd by them, he acquainted them with the Buſineſs which had brought him to *Rome*; and did intreat them to deliver his old Friend *John* to him, that they might live together in his Deſert to lament their Sins all their Days. The Emperor wept, and told *Nilus*, that if his Sanctity would live in *Rome*, he would not deny him any thing that he ſhould ask. *Nilus* ſeemed inclinable to accept of the Propoſition; but Pope *Gregory* not being fond, it is like, of ſuch Company, he did next Day to rid himſelf of it, command Pope *John* to be ſet on an Aſs, with his Face towards the Tayl, and holding the Tayl in his Hand, to ride thro' the Streets of *Rome*, ſaying, all the way, This is the Puniſhment that he deſerv'd, that endeavoured to have thruſt the Biſhop of *Rome* out of his *See.*

Nilus, who had for the great Mortifications of the extraordinary Honours which had

had been done him, with Temper enough, could not bear this ſo, being extreamly incenſed when he heard of what had been done to his Friend *John*, after he had ſpoke for him. For, tho' nothing can make them look proud, Aſceticks, if they be not humour'd, are apt to be very angry; as if they thought that denying themſelves ſome things, gave them the Prerogative not to be deny'd any thing by others; and ſo having told the Biſhop, who was ſent to him by the Emperor, to excuſe what had been done to his Friend; that as the Pope, and the Emperor, had ſhewed no Mercy to one that had been ſo unhappy as to fall into their Hands, ſo neither would their heavenly Father ſhew them any Mercy. He flung out of *Rome* in a violent Fret, to return to his more complaiſant Solitude; where being highly reverenced for his Auſterities, by all that came near him, he was not in any thing control'd by others: And perhaps this may make Hermits with all their voluntary Mortifications to live eaſier in their Deſerts, than, with their chagrine Tempers, they could live in the World, on the Terms on which other good Men live in it.

The Fifteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* the Ninth, *Silveſter*, *John* and *Gratian*; they all ſate in that *See*, and did all after that live in *Rome* together. *Benedict* was Son to the Count of *Tuſculum*, and

was by his Father's great Power and Riches, choſen Biſhop of *Rome*, when he was but twelve Years Old. As he grew up he deny'd himſelf no ſort of Pleaſures; and *Glaber* ſaith, the Turpitude of his Life was too great to be expreſſed: And growing every Day worſe and worſe, he became ſo intolerable, that after he had ſate eleven Years in the *Roman See*, he was driven out of it; and for his Money, *John*, Biſhop of *Salinum*, who took the Name of *Silveſter*, was choſen in his Place. But *Silveſter*, tho' he had bought that *See* very dear, he had not ſate four Months in it, when he was, by the great Power of Pope *Benedict*'s Relations, diſmounted, and *Benedict* was reſtored; who finding that he could not be eaſy in his Pleaſures in that Poſt, left it, and retired to his Father's Houſe, having firſt received a great Sum of Money from *John* the Arch-Presbyter, who was choſen in his Room. Whilſt that Money laſted *Benedict* gave his Chapman no trouble; but as ſoon as it was all ſpent, as it was in a ſhort time, he invaded the *Lateran* Church; and having chaſed *John* out of it, he reſumed the Pontifical Habit, and Authority; not to hold them long, but to ſell them a ſecond Time, as he did, to one *Gratian* a Presbyter; and who having likewiſe bought out the other two Popes, he was choſen, and did take the Name of *Gregory*; and to make *Benedict*, the Power of whoſe great Family he ſtill dreaded, eaſy

eaſy in his Pleaſures, he ſetled on him for his Life all the Papal Revenues ariſing out of *England*; a very good Account how our Money, that went to *Rome* was expended there.

Now is it not a hard Caſe, that when ever there is a Knot of ſimonaical, and vile Popes, with doubtful Titles, that poor Proteſtants muſt be pelted with hard Names for looking upon them, as they are here by *Baronius*, who calls them on this Occaſion, profligate Innovators and Rebels; and to ſtop their Mouths that they may never dare to open them any more againſt vile Popes, let them come never ſo thick upon them; he tells them gravely, that the *See* of *Rome* ſuffered in all this, and ought not therefore to be reproach'd for it, no more than a Man that is ſo unhappy as to fall into the Hands of Robbers, ought to be reproached for having been robbed by them.

Now, what *Baronius* ſaith here of the *Roman See*'s having been a Sufferer by its having had ſo many abominable Popes, with doubtful Titles, is certainly true: And if by thoſe Diſgraces, and by no other *See*'s that we read of, ever having had near ſo many Simonaicks, and Monſters of Vice in it, the *Roman See* had been thought to have been modeſt, and humble, as it ought to have been, it would then indeed have have been barbarous to have inſulted over it, on the the account of thoſe great Blots; but when that *See* is ſo far from

this, that it values its ſelf highly on the Pretence of a certain and uninterrupted Succeſſion of Biſhops down from St. *Peter*, and on that Succeſſion's being ſo, has built a Supremacy over all other Churches, this can't but raiſe an Indignation in all unprejudiced Minds, and provoke them, in *Baronius*'s Language, to call this a moſt Profligate and Impudent bearing down of the common Senſe of Mankind, in facing the World down, that a Chain is whole, that has viſibly above twenty broken Links in it, and may probably have many more; nor can *Baronius*'s canting over thoſe broken Links, and applying to them thoſe Words of the Prophet *David*, *Many times from my Youth up have they fought againſt me may* Iſrael *now ſay*, *&c.* Soder them ſo together, as to make them look whole.

The Sixteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Benedict* and *Nicholas*. Pope *Stephen*, who was a great Friend to *Hildebrand*, and would gladly have had him for his Succeſſor, finding himſelf drawing near the End of his Days, he ſent him into *Germany* to procure, as it was ſuppoſed, the Emperor's Nomination; and that there might be no Election before he came back, *Stephen*, upon his Death-bed, did Anathematize all that ſhould go about to chooſe a Biſhop of *Rome* before *Hildebrand* was return'd. But as nothing is leſs regarded than the Commands, as well as the Bodies of dying Princes,

Princes; ſo notwithſtanding this Precaution, *Stephen*'s Breath was no ſooner out of his Body, than one *John*, who took the Name of *Benedict*, was, without ſtaying for the Emperor's Nomination, choſen Pope; in Oppoſition to which Election *Gerard* Biſhop of *Florence*, who took the Name of *Nicholas*, was named by the Empreſs *Dowager*, her Son not being of Age: And who having upon that Nomination been choſen Pope at *Sienna*, he was ſoon after by the Power of the Empire, and the Managery of his Friend *Hildebrand*, put in Poſſeſſion of the *Roman See*. This Pope *Nicholas* is ſaid by ſome to have made a Decree againſt the Emperor's having any Power in the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, notwithſtanding it was by the Emperor's Nomination that he was elected, and *Benedict*, for having been choſe without it, was laid aſide. But whether any ſuch Decree was made by that Pope or not, who ſate but little above two Years, it is certain that *Hildebrand* his Governour, had at that time ſuch a Decree hatching in his Head; and which made ſome Diſcovery of its ſelf at the very next Election. Now that *Hildebrand*, who but two Years before was ſo zealous in aſſerting the Right of the Emperor's Nomination, as to have a Pope laid aſide for his not having had it, ſhould now be as zealous againſt that Nomination, is not at all to be wondred at; for that Monk had but

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one ſteady Principle, which was to be for or againſt any thing, as the Views of his Ambition directed him.

The Seventeenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Alexander* and *Honorius*.

The Clergy of *Rome*, but above all the reſt *Hildebrand*, having, if it was poſſible, a great mind to bring the Election of their Biſhop entirely into their own Hands, they judged this to be a proper time enough to offer at it, the Emperor being very young, and without any Armies in *Italy* : So *Alexander* was choſen by them without ſtaying for the Emperor's Nomination. They did nevertheleſs, after they had made that bold Step, excuſe it to the Emperor, by pretending that they had no intention to leſſen the Emperor's Authority by the Election they had made, but had been compell'd to it, to prevent a Sedition which was ready to have broke out in the City ; and that even under that Compulſion, they had paid ſo much reſpect to the Emperor, and to his Authority, as not to chooſe one of their own Body, but a Biſhop who had been his Domeſtick, and for whom they knew he had a great Affection. Their having on this Occaſion choſe a Biſhop, who it is like would have been named by the Emperor, if they had waited for his Nomination; was a cunning trick enough to have kept this Election from being reverſed, as an Election had been not three Years before for want of it ;

it ; yet the *Germans* were not ſo dull, as to have that Trick put upon them by the *Italians*, nor was their kindneſs for *Alexander* ſo great, as for his ſake to allow of ſuch an ill Preſident. The Emperor did therefore to aſſert his Right, nominate *Cadalaus* Biſhop of *Parma*, but who, by reaſon of the great Diſtractions which were in *Germany*, could have but little Aſſiſtance from his Patron. However having a good Purſe of his own, he went to *Rome* with a conſiderable Force, but not being ſtrong enough to carry his Point, he retreated to wait for Succors from *Germany* : And in the mean while, he was furiouſly perſecuted by Letters writ to him by *Peter Damianus*, who had been a Monk, but was now brought by *Hildebrand* to be a Cardinal, and Arch-Biſhop of *Oſtium* : on purpoſe to engage him in the Intereſt of the Papal Authority, againſt the Imperial, which *Hildebrand* was now contriving how to pull down in *Italy*.

Damianus's Name was high for the Auſterity of his Life in his Monaſtery, out of which he pretended he had been drawn much againſt his Will, and in the low ebb Learning was in at that time in the *Weſt*, he had a good proportion of it ; his chief Talent lay in declaiming and pelting all that diſpleaſed him, after a moſt furious manner, with all the hard Names which are given in the Scriptures to the worſt of Perſons and Things ;

and

and which were all poured out by him upon *Cadalaus* without Measure, who in one breath was called by him, *A Disturber of the Holy Church, the Subverter of Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Enemy of Man's Salvation, the Devil's Trumpeter, the Apostle of Antichrist, an Arrow drawn out of Satan's Quiver, the Rod of* Assur *a Son of* Belial, *the Son of Perdition, the black Dragon*; and with such Flowers as these, that monkish Cardinal's Letters to Pope *Cadalaus* are plentifully garnished. But at the same time, that Cardinal was so far from denying the Right of nominating the Bishop of *Rome*, to be in the Emperor, for things were not ripe enough for that yet, that in several places in those Letters, he acknowledgeth, that Right to be in the Emperor, and instead of justifying the last Election of the Bishop of *Rome* having been made without it, he only excuses it, by saying that the Emperor being a Child at that time; the *Roman* Church as his Guardian, had in his Minority chosen a Bishop without his Nomination, but without any intention to make that a President for the future. All which was unsaid at the very next Election, when *Hildebrand* was chosen without having stay'd for the Emperor's Nomination; or if it was not unsaid so soon as that Election, yet it was openly and avowedly unsaid by *Hildebrand*, and his Monks before his Death.

The

The Empire being ſtill in ſo diſtracted, and feeble a Condition, that it was not able to ſend any Armies into *Italy* to maintain its Right of Nomination, or to ſupport Biſhop *Cadalaus:* The Biſhop of *Cologn* was ſent to *Rome* to aſſert that Right, and who as he appears not to have been a proper Man, to have been ſent thither on that Errand, being a great Friend to Pope *Alexander*, and an Enemy to Pope *Cadalaus*; ſo his Negotiation ſucceeded accordingly: for tho' he did, when he came to *Rome*, ask the Pope, *How came it to paſs, Brother* Alexander, *that you accepted of the* Roman See *without the King my Maſter's Orders; ſince for a long time our Kings have been in Poſſeſſion of this Right, that a Pope cannot be choſen without their Conſent*, and did alſo produce a long Liſt of Preſidents of it; yet having been anſwered, not by the Pope, but by his Governor *Hildebrand*, that according to the Canons, the Emperor had nothing to do in the Election of that Biſhop, *Cologn* is ſaid to have been ſo fully ſatisfy'd; that he had not a Word more to ſay; which he would certainly have had, had he not been an unfaithful Embaſſador, and without any Zeal for the Cauſe he was ſent to *Rome* to defend.

The Eighteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Gregory* the Seventh, or *Hildebrand*, and *Guibert*.

Pope

Pope *Alexander* was no ſooner dead, than *Hildebrand*, was without ſtaying for the Emperor's Nomination, preſently choſen Biſhop of *Rome*; and tho' but five Years before, and by *Hildebrand*'s means, a Pope had been laid aſide for not having had that Nomination, and but four Years before, a Pope having been choſen without it, was excuſed to the Emperor by *Hildebrand*, and his Brethren, as an Irregularity they had been compell'd to. Nevertheleſs the Empire being at that time in a feeble State, and without any Arms in *Italy*, this Election, having been made without that Nomination, was juſtify'd.

This *Gregory* is by the *German*, and by moſt other Writers in and about his time, made one of the falſeſt, and moſt wicked of Men; but is by all the Papal Paraſites and Champions, for the great Service he did the *See* of *Rome*, in being the firſt that threw down the Papal Gauntlet againſt the Emperors, magnify'd beyond meaſure, not only as a good Pope, but as a good Man likewiſe. As to the perſonal Vices this Pope is charged with, tho' we ſhould not be certain of his having been guilty of them; yet as to his Papal and Politick, it is manifeſt from his whole Conduct, that no Runagate Monk, and which *Hildebrand* was, could be more falſe, violent, and ambitious, and implacable; and this was ſo well known, that neither *Hildebrand*'s devout Petition to the *Roman* Clergy, not to offer to

proceed

proceed to an Election of a Pope, until they had prayed and fasted three Days for God's Directions; nor the Sighs and Groans, wherewith he expressed his unwillingness to be chosen, nor his Complaining at *Rome*, and by Letters in other Parts, how heavy a Mortification it was to him, that that Election had fallen upon him; nor his having supplicated the Emperor to avoid that Election, for having been made without his Consent, could cure the World, which had seen *Hidelbrand* Angling for a long time after that Dignity, of the belief of his having procured it for himself by a long train of Frauds, and with great Sums of Money. On the contrary his having used so many Tricks to palliate his Simony, did but confirm them the more in the belief of it. But by what steps soever *Hildebrand* did climb up into that *See*, he was not warm in it, before he gave the Emperor cause to repent of his having deny'd to void his Election when he supplicated him to do it: Having upon real or pretended Crimes, and which he was good at Inventing, and bold in Asserting, Excommunicated the Emperor, and threatned him with a Deprivation; neither was there a Sovereign Prince almost in *Europe*, whom he had not upon some Pretence or other threatned with the same Treatment.

The Emperor having for near eight Years endured the fury of this violent Pope, and who

who was upheld in it chiefly by the great Power of *Mathilda* Counteſs of *Liguria* and *Tuſcia*, with whom he was accuſed of being too Familiar, he could not bear it any longer. And ſo having reſolved if it were poſſible to put a full ſtop to it, he did firſt aſſemble a Council at *Mentz*, and ſoon after one in *Brixia*, in which *Hildebrand*, was by an unanimous Voice pronounced an Invader of the *Roman See*; it being manifeſt, ſaith that Synod, that he was not choſen of God Biſhop of *Rome*, but by himſelf, by means of Frauds and Money, and that by him all Eccleſiaſtical Order was ſubverted, and the Chriſtian Empire diſturbed, and Seditions, and Scandals, raiſed in all Parts. And having thus declared *Hildebrand*, whom they called an Apoſtate Monk, not to have any Right to the *Roman See*; *Guibert*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, was choſen by them, upon the Emperor's Nomination.

This Synod met in *Brixia*, in the Year 1080, and from this time the Date of the *Guelph*, and *Gibbeline* Parties in *Italy*, which divided that Country ſo many Years, and worry'd one another ſo unmercifully, may I believe be taken; that Party which adhered to the Emperor's, having it is like been called *Gibbelines* from this *Guibert*, who was choſen Pope at the Emperors Nomination; and the Party which contended for the Pope's, having perhaps been in Contempt called *Welphs* or

or *Whelphs*, by the *Germans*, came by the *Italians* to be called *Guelphs*. The *German* Names which begin with a *W*, as *William* and *Walter*; being writ and pronounced by the *Italians*, with a *G*, as *Gulliam* and *Gualter*; or if this be not the Reaſon of that Name, it may have come from *Welpho* Son to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was by the Pope to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Germany*, married to the Counteſs *Maud*, the devout Servant of the *Hildebrandian* Party; but to return.

Hildebrand, having been thus laid aſide, and *Clement* promoted to the *Roman See*, the Emperor by the following Letter acquainted *Hildebrand* with what he had done.

Henry, *not by Uſurpation, but by God's Holy Ordination, King, to* Hildebrand, *not now Apoſtolical, but a falſe Monk.*

FOR your Confuſion, you do deſerve this Salutation, there being no Order in the Church which you have not filled with Confuſion, and not with Honour, and with Curſing, and not with Bleſſing; to ſpeak of many Things in a few Words: The Rectors of the Holy Church, Archbiſhops, Biſhops or Presbyters, ye have not only not been afraid to touch; for their being the Lords Anointed, but not regarding what

their Lord will do, ye have trod them under your Feet, and by trampling upon them, as if they knew nothing, and you knew all Things, you have procured to your ſelf the good word of the Vulgar, and which Knowledge you have made uſe of to Deſtruction, and not to Edification; inſomuch that we have cauſe to believe, that the bleſſed Gregory, *whoſe Name you have taken, did propheſie concerning you; when he ſaid, out of Affluence of the Subjects, the Mind of the Prelate is often exalted, and who thinks he knows more than all others, becauſe he can do more than they. We out of the Reſpect we had for the Apoſtolical* See, *endured all theſe things; and that Humility of ours, having been interpreted by you to be Fear, you were not afraid to riſe againſt our Kingly Power given us of God, and have dared to threaten to deprive us of it, as if we had received our Kingdom from you, or as if our Kingdom and Empire were in your Hands, and not in God's: And to which we were called by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom you were not called to the Prieſthood, which you aſcended by the ſteps of Crafts and Frauds, and did, what the Monkiſh Profeſſion abominates, purchaſe Favour with Money, and the Sword with Favour, and with which you invaded that* See *of Peace, and have driven Peace out of it; having armed the Subjects againſt their Prelates, and taught them to deſpiſe our Biſhops, who were called of God, which*

you

you were not. Concluding this Letter with the following Commination.

Thou that art condemned by St. Paul, *with an* Anathema, *and by all our Biſhops, come down and leave the Apoſtolical* See, *which thou haſt uſurped, that another may aſcend, who does not palliate Religion with Violence, and who will teach the Sound Doctrine of St.* Peter.

At the ſame time the Emperor by a Letter exhorted the People of *Rome*, as followeth.

Riſe up moſt Faithful, and let the firſt in Fidelity, be the firſt to condemn Hildebrand; *we ſay not this, that ye ſhould ſhed his Blood, for after this Condemnation, Life will be a greater Puniſhment to him than Death. But that if he will not deſcend you do pull him down, that you may receive one into the Apoſtolical* See, *whom we have choſen with the common Conſent of all our Biſhops, and by your Advice, and who will cure the Wounds in the Church which have been given by* Hildebrand.

Hildebrand perceiving the Emperor was now in Earneſt, and doubting much whether his cloſe Friend *Maud*, would be ſtrong enough to defend him, he threw himſelf into the Arms of Count *Guiſcart*, the Captain of the *Normans*, who had overrun a great Part of *Italy*; and who till now had been Excommunicated by him; and *Guiſcart* being glad to have ſuch an Ally againſt the Empe-

peror, he did take an Oath to maintain *Hildebrand* in the *Roman See*, in Peace and Honour againſt all Mortals, and did alſo promiſe Lands, and ſome other Advantages to that *See*. And by this means, as I have hinted before, the Popes had Territories given them by Princes, who ſtood in need of their Aſſiſtance, to help themſelves no more, or to ſettle them and their Poſterity in them.

Hildebrand having thus fortify'd himſelf, did begin to roar louder againſt the Emperor than he had done before; and did call all Chriſtians to his Aſſiſtance, and to encourage them to come in, he told them as a Prophet, that the Emperor having God and St. *Peter* againſt him, would be preſently caſt down. But the madneſs of this Prophet was ſoon rebuked by Experience, the Emperor having, within a few Months after that Denunciation, obtained an entire Victory over *Rodulph*, who had by *Hildebrand*'s Practices, been ſet up Emperor againſt him.

Rodulph having been ſlain in that Battle, *Hildebrand* fearing the Emperor would follow his Blow, and come and give him a Viſit at *Rome*, he deny'd he had any Hand in *Rodulph*'s having taken up Arms, and tho' nothing was farther from his Thoughts, he did talk of having a general Council called to ſettle all Affairs.

But

But the Emperor who knew *Hildebrand* too well to truſt to any thing that he ſaid, did enter *Italy* with a brave *German* Army, and having with difficulty, by reaſon of the great ſtrength of the *Normans*, at laſt became Maſter of *Rome*, out of which *Hildebrand* had fled ſome time before; he put Pope *Clement*, whom he had brought with him, into the Poſſeſſion of the *Roman See*, and was crowned Emperor by him ſoon after.

The Emperor had not been long in *Rome*, before he had like to have been aſſaſſinated by a Ruffian in a Church as he was at Prayers; and which Ruffian, Cardinal *Benno* ſaith, was employed by *Hildebrand* to commit that Villany.

The Emperor in a ſhort time after, having by his Affairs been called into *Germany*, that he might not leave Pope *Clement* at the mercy of *Hildebrand* and his *Normans*, he left a ſtrong Garriſon in *Rome*: And being come into *Germany*, he called a Council at *Mentz*, in which *Hildebrand's* having been lay'd aſide, and *Guibert's* having been exalted to the *Roman See*, was approved of and confirmed.

Hildebrand, who had never returned to *Rome* after he was chaſed out of it by the Emperor, died the ſame Year at *Salernum*, and if we may believe ſome *Hildebrandians* Miracles were wrought by his dead Body.

Baronius saith, he hath as a Saint, an Anniversary in the *Roman* Church. I find his Name indeed in the *Roman Martyrology*, on the twenty fifth of *May*, but its not being to be met with in the *Luca*, *Anwerp*, *Corby*, or any other Ancient *Martyrology*, makes me suspect that it has not been long in the *Roman*; in the Reforming of which *Baronius* had the chief Hand. Not that *Hildebrand* does not, and for the very same sort of Merits, deserve a Place in that *Martyrology* as well as *Thomas a Becket*, and divers others that are named in it.

It was near a Twelve Month after *Hildebrand*'s Death before his Party had the Courage to set up a Pope, in opposition to *Clement*; but having received the joyful News of the Emperor's being routed in *Germany* by the *Suevi*, they took heart, and did choose *Desiderius* Abbot of *Cassinum*, who had been named by *Hildebrand* for his Successor; knowing him to be a proper Man to take up the Cudgels against the Emperor.

This Monk did fence longer against his being chosen, and with a seeming greater Sturdiness, than *Hildebrand*, or any other Monk that I have read of; however according to the Monkish Custom, he yielded at last, and did give way to its being done. And this being constantly the issue of all Monks struglings against Dignities; and which they do all use of course, reflects not a little on their

their Sincerity, and on that profound Humility and Contempt of the World, out of which all thoſe Monkiſh ſtruglings would be thought to ariſe. But whether this Monk was choſe willingly, or unwillingly; yet being choſen, his great Humility hindred him not from bearing the Name of *Victor*, in which he was no Prophet, tho' I think he is ſaid by ſome to have been one; for having ſoon after his Election, marched into *Rome* with a good Force, he was after a bloody Conflict driven out of it, by the ſuperior Strength of his Rival Pope *Clement*. Neither did he ever return to *Rome* any more; and having died a few Months after that Repulſe, on his Death-Bed, he did after the Example of *Hildebrand*, and of ſome others, to perpetuate the Quarrel that was on Foot, name for his Succeſſor *Otho*, Archbiſhop of *Oſtium*, whom he knew to be a fit Man for that Purpoſe; and *Otho* having been choſen preſently, did take the Name of *Urban*.

This *Urban* was *Hildebrand*'s Nuncio in *Germany*, and had there pronounced *Hildebrand*'s Excommunication againſt the Emperor, and all that adhered to him: Neither did *Urban* diſappoint the Hopes of him that named him, nor of thoſe that choſe him, he having immediately after his Election, declared, that he would tread in *Hildebrand*'s Steps, and if it were poſſible would perfect the great Work which he had begun. And

knowing that it would be in vain to ſet about it, if he were not ſure of a Power that was able to ſupport him againſt the Emperor, who began to recover Strength again in *Germany*. He ſtruck up an Alliance preſently with *Roger*, and *Boemund*, two powerful *Norman* Princes, who had conquered *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and ſome other *Italian* Provinces; and which *Normans* having been inveſted by him in thoſe Lands, they did take an Oath to ſupport him in the *Roman See*: And that he might likewiſe ingage ſome powerful *German* Princes on his ſide againſt the Emperor, he did oblige the Counteſs *Mathilda* to marry with *Welpho*, Son to the Duke of *Bavaria*; and which, as a moſt dutiful Daughter to the *Roman* Church, ſhe is ſaid to have done, purely in Obedience to the Pope, and for to promote his Intereſt. But whatever it was that moved *Mathilda* to marry *Welpho*, that *German* Prince, who was young enough to have been her Grandſon, married her only to have been her Heir; but of that he was wiped by the Pope, who having made uſe of him againſt the Emperor, got the old Counteſs for to leave all her Territories from her young Husband, with whom ſhe is ſaid to have lived in a perfect Continency, to the *See* of *Rome*.

Urban having ſtrengthen'd himſelf thus, did revive and thunder out *Hildebrand*'s Excommunications againſt the Emperor, and againſt

againſt all his Friends; and did likewiſe Excommunicate Pope *Clement*, and all his Adherents; and that theſe his Excommunications might have their deſir'd effect, he commanded *Godfrey* Biſhop of *Luca*, not to lay the Penances of Murderers on thoſe, who burning with Zeal for their Catholick Mother, did ſlay any that were Excommunicated.

Urban, tho' he had not Strength enough to ſettle himſelf in *Rome*, yet having ſo many powerful Allies, he triumphed for near ſix Years in the greateſt part of *Italy*, and did lay about him in moſt Places, after the Example of *Hildebrand*: Until at laſt the Emperor was provoked by him, to enter into *Italy*, and who having taken the City of *Mantua*, and reduced divers Countries to his Obedience. *Urban* perceiving there was not a Power in *Italy* able to cope with him, he did in all likelihood, perſuade *Conrade* the Emperor's own Son, to take up Arms againſt his Father: but as there is in Monks, beyond all other Men, a ſtrange Confidence to blacken all that they are diſpleaſed with, with outragious Calumnies of their own inventing; and which they do aſſert with a boldneſs not to be ſhaken, ſo to make the Emperor odious, and to excuſe the Pope from having had any hand in that unnatural Rebellion, they reported that *Conrade* had been forced to take up Arms againſt his Father, who otherwiſe would

would have ſlain him, for having when he commanded him, refuſed to deflower his Bed. But whether *Urban* had any hand in the raiſing of that unnatural Rebellion or not, certain it is that he encouraged it very much, and did make great uſe of it to promote his ambitious Deſigns; for *Conrade* after he had overrun *Lombardy*, having gone to *Cremona* to viſit his Friend *Urban*; to make his Court to that proud Pope, he held his Stirrup, and who having taken an Oath to maintain him in the *Roman See*, *Urban* to confirm *Conrade* in his Rebellion againſt his Father, received him as the Son of the *Roman* Church; and having helpt him to a Mother, he did publickly promiſe to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of his Power, to help him to his Father's Kingdoms and Empire, without waiting for his Death, and to ſupply him with a great Sum of Money, to carry on the War againſt his Father, he married him to a Daughter of *Roger* the *Norman* King of *Sicily*, with whom he had a very great Portion.

By theſe means *Urban* gathered Strength enough to carry him to *Rome*, where he remained till he died, but was never without Diſturbances; his Rival Pope *Clement* ſurvived him, and did glory much in three of his Antagoniſt's having gone off the Stage before him, making it an Argument of Heavens approving of his Title to the *Roman See*.

But the *Hildebrandians* were at that time too

too ſtrong to regard ſuch notices, and ſo did immediately upon *Urban*'s death chooſe the Monk *Rinerus*, who had long before left his Monaſtery, and was then a Cardinal Presbyter; he took the Name of *Paſchal*, and in all papal Reſpects was another *Hildebrand*. And Pope *Clement* having died the Year after, one *Albert* was choſe Biſhop of *Rome* upon the Emperor's Nomination; and after *Albert* one *Theodorick*, and after *Theodorick* one *Maginulphus*, but who, by reaſon of the great Weakneſs, their Patron the Emperor was reduced to, by his rebellious Son, and by the *Normans*, were never able to make head againſt *Paſchal*. Who did therefore, for the ſeventeen Years that he was Pope, domineer in *Italy* and in all other Parts, in a moſt bruital manner. And that the *Roman See* in its Quarrels with the *Empire*, might not ſtill be only on the Defenſive, *Paſchal* deny'd to the Emperors the Inveſtiture of the Biſhops and Abbots within their Dominions, and which, tho' it was plainly an Act of a temporal Nature, being only on the Account of the great Temporalities which the Biſhops and Abbots were poſſeſſed of; yet was by a violent Monkiſh boldneſs faced down by *Paſchal*, and his Monkiſh Succeſſors, to be a Spirituality; and who, contrary to all Senſe and Reaſon, maintain'd it to be ſo, at the coſt of many thouſands of Chriſtians Lives; forſooth, becauſe the Staff and the Ring, which

were

were made uſe of in that Homage were ſacred Things.

But as the Emperors, nor no other Sovereigns, could ever part with the Subſtance of thoſe Inveſtitures, unleſs the Biſhops and Abbots, would firſt quit all the Temporalities they had within their Territories, and which was an Expedient that was once thought of, for to have put an end to that long Quarrel; ſo the Popes, who to be ſure did not like that Expedient, after they had for many Years at the expence of a Sea of Chriſtian Blood, worried the Emperors about thoſe Inveſtitures, did at laſt fairly give them up, only that the whole World might not cry ſhame on them, for their having raiſed ſo many Rebellions, and made ſo great Slaughters and Devaſtations, to no end and purpoſe; they were gratified with the Ceremony of the Staff and Ring being laid aſide, a worthy Point to juſtify ſo tragical a Scene. And tho' to have required their Sovereign Lords and Emperors, to have changed that ancient harmleſs Ceremony, would have been an unreaſonable thing in the Biſhops of *Rome*; yet I doubt not, but if that would have contented them, the Emperors rather than have undergone one quarter of the trouble which they met with, would have gratify'd them with that Change. But whoever ſhall look into the bottom of that Affair will ſee, the Biſhops of *Rome* made uſe of it, only as a Pretence for

for the carrying on *Hildebrand*'s Deſign of deſtroying the Strength of the *Empire* in *Italy*, and that if they had not Light on this, they would have deviſed ſome other, tho' I do not think it was poſſible for them, to have ſtarted one that had leſs Juſtice or Senſe in it, than this of the Inveſtitures. In truth, it is not to any thing ſo much, as to this long and continued Succeſſion of Men in the *Roman See*, who had by ſolemn Vows, particularly renounced the World, and all its Pomps and Glories, that that *See* owes its great temporal Authority, Grandeur and Splendour. For let what will be the Cauſe of it, there is viſibly in all Monks, who by their Parts, Learning or Cunning, do raiſe themſelves to any high Poſts in Government; a Pride, Avarice and an inflexible Violence, and keenneſs of Spirit, far beyond what there is in any other ſort of People: And as by thoſe Diſpoſitions, and a thouſand Tricks, thoſe Monkiſh Popes did exalt themſelves above all that are called God's, ſo by them, their Civil Government became ſo unſupportable, that the whole City of *Rome* did riſe up againſt it; and having chaſed Pope *Eugenius* the Third, and all his Monkiſh Cardinals out of *Rome*, and pulled down their magnificent Pallaces, as no proper Dwellings for People of their Vows and Profeſſions, they declared they would never ſuffer the Pope to be their Prince, nor to meddle with any Affairs beſides his own

own Spiritualities; and which Storm raiſed in *Rome* by the ill Diſpoſitions of the Monkiſh Popes and Cardinals, laſted ſeveral Years.

And as to the Secular Clergy, Biſhops and Pariſh Prieſts, they, as the Emperor well obſerved in his Letter to *Hildebrand*, were trampled on by thoſe Monkiſh Popes and Cardinals, as if they had been the Off-ſcouring of the Earth; and were by them to enrich the Monaſteries, reduced to great Poverty. And which Poverty lies ſtill heavy on the Parochial Clergy of that rich Church, as it does likewiſe on too many of the Parochial Clergy in the Church of *England*, whoſe Tythes having been taken from them by ſuch Popes, and beſtowed on Monaſteries, were not reſtored upon the Diſſolution of thoſe Bodies, as it were to be wiſhed they had been, and that they by whom the Monaſteries were diſſolved, had been ſatisfied with all the Lands they found them in Poſſeſſion of, but had returned all the Tythes to the Vicars.

The Nineteenth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, which began in the Year 1130, was betwixt *Innocent* a Monk, and *Anacletus*, they were both choſen in *Rome*, on the ſame Day Pope *Honorius* died.

Anacletus, whoſe Name before was *Peter Leoni*, was of a great Family in *Rome*, and being alſo very rich, he did quickly drive his Competitor, not only out of the City, but out of *Italy* alſo; and he having fled into *France*, *Anacletus* did excommunicate and de-

depoſe him, and all that adhered to him. *Anacletus*'s Election is, by *Innocent*'s Friends, ſaid to have been Simonaical and Violent; and *Innocent*'s Election is by *Anacletus*'s Friends, ſaid to have been made clandeſtinely in a Corner, only by a handful of Men, and who until they had made it, did conceal *Honorius*'s being dead. Both which Reports are likely enough to be true, and whereas the Monks, who were all on their Brother *Innocent*'s ſide had, according to their Cuſtom, raiſed and ſpread Reports in all Places, of *Anacletus*'s having robbed all the rich Churches in *Rome*, and committed many more Outrages in it: The Biſhop of *Portua*, in a Letter which he writ to ſeveral Biſhops, ſaith, *Theſe are things no Body in* Rome *had ſeen nor knew any thing of.* And *Anacletus* himſelf in a Letter to *Lotharius* the Emperor tells him, *That* Innocent, *who was fled, after* Cain's *Example, had been clandeſtinely, and moſt irregularly choſen, by a handful of the Clergy; whereas he had been choſen Biſhop of Rome by the great Body of them, and with the Approbation of the whole City, with the uſual Solemnities, and who did all at that time acknowledge him to be their Biſhop:* The ſame is alſo affirmed in a Letter writ to the Emperor, ſigned by above twenty Cardinals, and a great many other *Roman* Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſticks; and who did intreat the Emperor not to give any Credit to the Lyes which were raiſed, and ſpread about by Fa-

Fanaticks, meaning the Monks, nor to the Chancellor *Himericus*, the great Supporter of *Innocent*, whom he knew for a long time to have proſtituted the *Roman* Church as a vile Strumpet for his Luxuries and Avarice. A Letter was alſo ſoon after written to the Emperor by the Prefect of the City, and by the Nobles, and People of *Rome*; in which having told the Emperor, that no Election was ever more regular than that of *Anacletus*, they complained of the Emperor's not having anſwered two Letters which had been writ to him by that Pope; a Legat was alſo ſent by *Anacletus* to the Court of *France*, to acquaint that King with the Juſtice and Regularity of his Election; and knowing the Monks to be his fierceſt and moſt dangerous Enemies, he did, to ſtop their Mouths if it were poſſible, ſend a Letter by a Cardinal to the Monks of *Cluny*. And having acquainted them with his Election's having been Canonical beyond all Expectation, and approved of by the whole City; he ſubjoyns the following Character of the People, who by chooſing of another, had in vain endeavoured to defeat it.

Some falſe Brethren, ſaith Anacletus, *the Sons of* Belial, *and of Peſtilence, and Sons of* Agar, *whoſe Wiſdom is of the Earth, being drunk with the Cup of the Wrath of the Almighty, did with a wicked Boldneſs ſet themſelves againſt the Divine Diſpoſition, and Eccleſiaſtical Con-*

Conſtitution, and who had for their Head Himericus, *formerly Chancellor of the* Roman *Church, who was a Slave to* Avarice, *a Patron of Stage-Players and Buffoons, a Robber of Churches, and a vile Oppreſſor of the Servants of God, and who being another* Gehazi, *had by publick and private Simonies, inherited the Leproſy of* Naaman, *and the Curſe of the Almighty:* With a great deal more ſuch angry Stuff.

But the Monks were too zealous to keep the Papacy among them, to be moved by any Arguments, to deſert their Brother *Innocent*; for *Bernard*, who was *Innocent*'s chief Champion, tells us, that the *Camalduilians*, *Vallambroſians*, *Carthuſians*, *Clunians*, *Ciſterſians*, and the whole World of Monks, were all for Pope *Innocent:* In *Sicily* indeed ſome Monks did ſeem to favour *Anacletus*, but they were undoubtedly compelled to make that Profeſſion, by their Duke *Roger*, to whom, to engage him on his Side, *Anacletus* had given the Crown of that *Iſland*.

Whilſt *Anacletus* was thus active to eſtabliſh himſelf, his Competitor *Innocent* was not idle in *France*, where having the Monk St. *Bernard* on his Side, and who had a Viſion in his Brother *Innocent*'s Favour, he did carry all before him in that Kingdom.

Bernard was indeed a Man of curious natural Parts, and withal had the largeſt Stock of Learning of any in his unlearned Age; but as to his Viſions, the deplorable End of

that vaſt Weſtern Army he was the great Inſtrument of ſending into the Holy Land, by Preaching up that Expedition with great Zeal, and by aſſuring thoſe unhappy Men upon a Divine Viſion of Victory, and of good Succeſs, does very much leſſen the Authority of all his Viſions. And as *Innocent*, after he once had *Bernard*, kept him ſtill near him, and did nothing without his Council; ſo *Bernard's* Letters in his Favour, which was writ in a devout Strain, did fly about, to perſwade the Emperor, the King of *England*, and divers other Princes, to acknowledge *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*. And as *Innocent* at long run had the better of *Anacletus*, ſo he owed that Victory chiefly to the great Zeal his Brethren the Monks ſhewed for him in all Parts, but above all to *Bernard*; who, according to his Cuſtom, did aſſure all People that he had the Word of God for *Innocent's* being the true Biſhop of *Rome*. However, upon *Anacletus's* Death, which happen'd eight Years after his Election, the Cardinals that had adher'd to him to the laſt, did chooſe one *Gregory*, a Cardinal Presbyter, Pope, who took the Name of *Victor*. But his Succeſs anſwer'd not his Name, for in a ſhort time he was forced to bow down before *Innocent*, by whoſe Armies of Monks, Matters were driven on with an Impetuoſity, it was ſcarce poſſible for any thing to withſtand: By which Monkiſh Impetuoſity, and Papal

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Indulgences, the *Weſtern* World, to make Elbow-room for the Popes, none of which ever went thither themſelves, was hurled into the *Eaſt*; where after having endured unſpeakable Miſeries, they found their Graves in heaps. Whilſt the *Weſtern* Princes were by *Bernard*, and other viſionary Monks, engaged in thoſe remote Expeditions, to the great Hazard of their Perſons, and to the exhauſting of their Countries both of Men and Money; the Popes were quietly at work at home, exalting themſelves and their See; and their Monks with their pretended Viſions, having been the Trumpeters to raiſe all thoſe vaſt Armies, and their Indulgences the Levy Money; the Popes were for that reaſon the Generaliſſimo's of them all, tho' not one of them did ever venture his own Perſon with any of thoſe Armies; though to ſet them a going, they did ſometimes talk of accompanying them. And of this Commiſſion, of being Generaliſſimo of all *Croiſado's*; for ſo thoſe funeſtous Expeditions were called; the Popes did make great uſe after the *Weſtern* World was grown ſick of them, at ſo great a diſtance. For as they who gave Money towards the carrying on thoſe *Croiſado's*, did partake of their plenary Indulgences no leſs than they who ventured their Perſons in them; ſo the Popes did for a long time, whenever they wanted Money much, by their Monks proclaim a *Croiſado*,

with a Tender of their Indulgences, which they knew would certainly bring Money into their Treaſures from devout Perſons, though they would not be able to raiſe one Man; neither did the Popes intend they ſhould, that ſo they might keep all that Money to themſelves. There was another great Uſe the Popes made of that Commiſſion, which was, by the ſame means, to raiſe *Croiſado's* to deſtroy all at home, that would not ſubmit to their Authority; and by ſuch *Croiſado's*, ſome hundreds of thouſands of poor *Waldenſes* were murdered in *France*, for having deny'd the Pope's Supremacy, and all his new Anti-Chriſtian Doctrines. The wicked Crew of People, of which all *Croiſado's* conſiſted, rejoycing to have their Sins all forgiven them, upon ſo much eaſier Terms than the former *Croiſado's* had theirs; who, if they did not die by the Way, as many of them did, muſt go as far as *Paleſtine* or *Egypt* to die there, to partke of the Benefit of thoſe Indulgences. For it is certain that of the common Soldiers that went, not one of a Thouſand of them did ever return to *Europe*, or did live to any great Age in the *Eaſt*. Theſe funeſtous *Croiſado's* may well be reckon'd to have been amongſt the chief and worſt Sorceries of Popery.

The Twentieth Schiſm in the *Roman See* was betwixt *Gelaſius* and *Gregory*, commonly call'd *Burdon*.

Paſchall

Paſchall the Third having died in the Year 1110, the Emperor, to whom that Pope had broke the moſt ſolemn Oath concerning the Inveſtitures of Biſhops and Abbots, that was perhaps ever taken by any Man. Being at that time in *Italy*, he did intend to have aſſerted the Ancient Imperial Right of Nominating the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to have taken care to have filled that *See*, with one that ſhould not after the Example of the late *Hildebrandian* Popes, make it his Buſineſs to excite the *Normans* and other Nations, to joyn to break the Strength and Authority of the *Roman* Empire in *Italy*. But before the Emperor, though he was but in *Lombardy*, could get to *Rome*, the nimble old Cardinals had fill'd that *See*, having choſen the Chancellor, Cardinal *John Cajetan* Pope, who took that Name of *Gelaſius*.

The Emperor, when he firſt heard of that Election, was not much diſpleaſed with it. That Chancellor in *Paſchall*'s Time having appeared ſo moderate in the Affair of the Inveſtitures, that he ſeverely reprehended a certain Monkiſh Biſhop, for his having told that Pope to his Face, *That the having given up the Inveſtitures by an Oath to the Emperor, was an Hereſie, and which that Chancellor affirmed it was not.*

But the Family of the *Frangipanes*, who were in the Emperor's Intereſt, and lived in *Rome*, knew the Man better; and did therefore as ſoon as they had heard of his being

choſe Pope, before he had received the Adorations, drag him out of the Church, in which he was choſen, in a very rude manner, to their own Palace; and where having made him a cloſe Priſoner, they would have kept him ſo if he had not been violently taken out of their Hands by ſome *Roman* Barons, followed by a Multitude of People. The Emperor having had Intelligence of this, march'd Day and Night 'till he got to *Rome*, out of which, *Gelaſius* not having fled 'till after ſome *German* Troops were entred the City, he narrowly eſcaped falling into their Hands. However, after a ſtrange Adventure he got ſafe to *Gaieto*, the Place of his Birth, where he was conſecrated by the Cardinal of *Oſtium*, in the Preſence of *William* Duke of *Poville*, and of *Richard* Prince of *Capua*, to which *Normans*, that Pope, according to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, had fled for Protection.

The Emperor having now come to underſtand what a ſort of Man *Gelaſius* was, he declared him not to be Biſhop of *Rome*, for not having been nominated by him, nor choſen with his Conſent. And to fill that *See*, having declared it vacant, he nominated *Maurice Burdon*, Archbiſhop of *Braga* to it, who took the Name of *Gregory* the Eighth. And being obliged ſoon after to return into *Germany* himſelf, he charged the *Frangipanes*, the Counts of *Tuſculum*, and his other *Roman* Friends, to be ſure to ſupport *Gregory* againſt his

his Competitor, who he knew would not ſuffer him to be long quiet. And it was ſo, for *Gelaſius* did no ſooner hear of the Emperor's having left *Rome*, than he laboured hard to perſwade the *Normans* to go thither to drive *Gregory* out of it. And when he found that the *Normans* would not, at that time, undertake that Enterprize, truſting to the Strength of the great Party he thought he had in that City, he went to it without them: But he did not ſtay in it long, for the *Frangipanes* and other Imperialiſts, having had Intelligence that he was in the Church of St. *Praxidis*, they went and aſſaulted it ſo furiouſly, he had much ado to eſcape with his Life. And having no great Encouragement to return to the *Normans*, he did, after the Example of his Predeceſſors, when they were in great Diſtreſs in any of their Quarrels with the Emperors, flee into *France*, where he was kindly receiv'd as any declar'd Enemy to the Empire would have been.

Gelaſius having died in the Abby of *Clune*, before he had been a Year in *France*, the Archbiſhop of *Vien*, a *Frenchman*, was in *France*, by the Cardinals in that Kingdom, choſen Biſhop of *Rome*; and who took the Name of *Caliſtus*.

This new Pope was Brother to the Count of *Burgundy*, and Uncle to the Queen of *France*, and a near Relation of the Emperor's, with whom, ſoon after his Election, he ſaid, he was reſolv'd to put an End to the un-

happy Quarrel of the Inveſtitures. And having to that end diſpatched Nuncio's to the Emperor, it was agreed, That they ſhould have an Interview at *Mouzon*, to treat about that Affair. And accordingly, at the Time appointed, the Pope went thither, attended with a great Train of Prelates and Nobles. But when the Emperor was come within a few Leagues of it, the Pope left it, and fled back in great haſt to *Rheims*, where he gave out, That the Emperor brought an Army with him, with the Deſign to have made him a Priſoner; and that by ſome Nuncio's which he had ſent to the Emperor to feel his Pulſe, no good was to be expected from that Interview. *Caliſtus*, when he went to *Mouzon*, had left a Council ſitting at *Rheims*; ſo being return'd to it, he paſs'd a Canon, abſolutely prohibiting all People to receive the Inveſtitures of their Churches or Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates from any Lay Hand.

After this, *Caliſtus* having underſtood, that his *Adverſary Gregory*, or the *Frangipanes*, by whom he was ſupported, were by their Tyrannies and Oppreſſions become very odious in *Rome*, and all *Italy* over; he reſolved to go to *Rome* to drive *Gregory* out of it, which he did with much eaſe. *Gregory*, as ſoon as he heard of *Caliſtus*'s being near him, left *Rome*, fled to the Caſtle of *Sutrum*; and which having been taken ſome time after by the *Normans*, *Gregory* was by them put into the Hands

of

of his Adverſary *Caliſtus*, and was by him, or by his Partiſans, handled moſt barbarouſly.

The One and Twentieth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Victor* and *Alexander*, both whoſe Elections are by their ſeveral Parties ſaid to have been very irregular.

Victor and his Cardinals in his Letters to the Emperor *Frederick*, and to all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* do aſſure them, that *Victor* had been Canonically choſen Biſhop of *Rome* by the Cardinal Biſhops and Presbyters, at the Requeſt of the *Roman* Clergy, and with the Conſent of the People and Senators. And that twelve Days after *Victor*'s Election, *Roland*, who called himſelf *Alexander*, had been ſet up by a few who had taken an Oath to *William* King of *Sicily*, to chooſe any Perſon he ſhould name to them; calling God to witneſs, that this their Report of that Election is true, and that all that is reported to the contrary was falſe, and a manifeſt Lye. But all this is poſitively contradicted by *Alexander* and his Adherents; by whom ſuch a different Report is given of that Election, that one does not know which Report to believe: Only *Alexander* and his Friends do not appear to have been Slaves to Truth, in having ſaid, That they had the whole City almoſt on their Side; for if that had been true, they would not have been chaſed out of it as they were by *Victor* immediately after they had made their Election.

The

The Emperor not knowing which Report to believe, did, after the Example of his Predeceſſors, call a Council to meet at *Pavia*, to examine the Merits of both Elections; commanding both *Victor* and *Alexander*, by the Biſhops of *Prague* and *Verdun*, to be preſent at that Aſſembly. *Alexander*, when the Emperor's Letters were delivered to him by thoſe two Biſhops, told them gravely, *That the Emperor was indeed the Advocate, and ſpecial Defender of the* Roman *Church, but he wondered that he would offer to affront that Church, ar rather* St. Peter, *ſo, as to take upon him to be her Judge:* And did then run into that long Cant about the Supream Authority of the *Roman See*, which had been deviſed by the Monks, and been made to paſs current in thoſe Days. The *German* Biſhops being much diſſatisfied with *Alexander*, and his Canting, left him, and repaired to *Rome*; where Pope *Victor* did promiſe to be preſent at the Council which the Emperor had call'd.

Alexander finding that upon his having refuſed to go to that Council, the Emperor was much diſpleas'd with him, he did by Legates, make his Court to the King of *France*, and to the Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, and to all the *Normans* in *Italy*; all which Princes he did hope to find well diſpoſed to become his Friends, purely in Oppoſition to the Emperor, of whoſe great Power they were all grown

grown jealous. And he was not out in his Policy, thoſe Princes having, for that reaſon, been eaſily perſwaded by him to acknowledge him for Pope. And the truth is, it was by the Popes claſhing of Princes, and particularly the *French* and *Normans* againſt the Emperors, that they broke the Neck of the Imperial Power in *Italy*, and did raiſe their own upon its Ruins.

The Council having met at *Pavia*, and at which Pope *Victor* was preſent, but no *Alexander* appeared there. The Emperor told them, *That though he might after the example of* Conſtantine, Theodoſius, Juſtinianus, Charles, Otho, *and other Emperors, have taken the Deciſion of this Matter upon himſelf; yet he had rather chooſe to leave it to the Judgment of the Eccleſiaſticks, and for that end he had aſſembled them together in that Place.*

The Council having ſpent ſeven Days in examining the Merits of both Elections, did pronounce *Victor*'s Election to have been Canonical, it having been proved before them by many Witneſſes, That *Victor* had been choſen Biſhop of *Rome* by the *Roman* Cardinals, at the Requeſt of the Clergy and People of *Rome*, *Rowland* the Chancellor being preſent, and not contradicting it; and that *Te Deum* having been ſung, and the Name of *Victor* given to that Pope; the Secretary had from a high Place made Proclamation, *That Pope* Adrian *having died on Monday, the Cardinal* Octa-

Octavianus *is now choſen* Roman *Pontiff in his Place.* And the People had with loud Acclamations anſwered, *They were very well pleaſed.* And that after that *Victor* having been conducted to the Palace, the cuſtomary Reverences and Obedience were there paid to him by the Canons of St. *Peter*, and by all the Clergy of *Rome.* And that there having been a Report ſome Days after of *Rowland*'s being choſen by a few Cardinals, the Magiſtrates of the City, and divers of *Rowland*'s Friends having gone to him, he did deny that there was any ſuch thing; neither did he ever own it, until after he had ſtole out of the City. Upon theſe Proofs *Victor*'s Election was approved of, and confirmed by the whole Council; which conſiſted of a great number of Biſhops; and *Rowland*'s Election was pronounced void. And to which Sentence the King of *England* conſented by his Embaſſadors, who were preſent in the Council, as the King of *Denmark* did afterwards. And on the ſecond Day after the paſſing of that Sentence, *Rowland* and all that adher'd to him were by the whole Council pronounced Schiſmaticks, and with lighted Candles Anathematized, and delivered over to Satan,

Alexander being now in a very great Strait, and there being none beſides the King of *France* at that time, that was able to ſupport him againſt the Emperor; he reſolved, after Pope *Innocent*'s Example, to fly into that King-

Kingdom for Sanctuary. And to prepare the *French* to receive him, when he came among them, he ſent *Peter* Archbiſhop of *Tarentaſia* before, to gain the Monks, in whom *Peter* had a great Intereſt; and which, by an Affectation of a ſingular Humility and Charity, he did much ſtrengthen among the *French* Monks when he came among them, who in a ſhort time had filled *France* with Reports of *Peter*'s working of Miracles. In one Monaſtery, as was confidently given out, he multiplied the Monks Loaves, and in another cured the Blind, and in others cured the Deaf, the Dumb, and the Lame; all which pretended Miracles were looked on as undeniable Teſtimonies from Heaven, of *Alexander*'s being the true *Roman Pontiff*, by whoſe Legat all thoſe Miracles were wrought. And by theſe means *Alexander* when he came into *France*, as he did ſoon after, was received there by the King, and by the whole Nation; with the Affection and Reverence which are due to one, on whoſe account ſo many Miracles had been wrought. And the King of *England* being in *France* at that time, he was it is like, ſo affected with thoſe confident reports of Miracles, that notwithſtanding he had given his Conſent to the Sentence which had paſſed on *Alexander*, in the Council of *Pavia*, he did now not only acknowledge him to be Pope, but did outdo all other Princes in the Reſpects he paid him.

The

The Emperor, now the Kings of *England* and *France* had declared themſelves for *Alexander*, apprehending that this Schiſm, if it continued, muſt cauſe great Diſturbances in Chriſtendom, to prevent thoſe Evils, he was much inclined to have a General Council called, to lay both *Victor* and *Alexander* aſide; and to have a third Perſon choſen to the Satisfaction of all. And having communicated this his Intention to the King of *France*, and deſired him to meet him at *Avignion*, and to bring *Alexander* thither with him; as he did promiſe to bring *Victor*, that King agreed to the Propoſition, and did by an Oath ingage himſelf to meet the Emperor in that City, and to bring *Alexander* thither. *Alexander* having promiſed to go, the Emperor and the King met accordingly, but no *Alexander* appeared, though *Victor* did; at which Diſappointment the Emperor, who was much ſtronger in that City than the *French* King, was ſo incenſed, that he did as good as threaten the King, for this breach of Faith, to make him a Priſoner, if he did not oblige *Alexander* to come to him. The *French* King told the Emperor, he and his Kingdom ſhould not lye long under the Imputation of being Faithleſs, for he would oblige *Alexander* to come, and accordingly he did with great Expedition, diſpatch Meſſengers to that falſe Man, to let him know, that if he did not come preſently to *Avignion*, according to the Agree-

Agreement which was betwixt them, he ſhould be made a Priſoner by the Emperor. But that perfidious Pope, having lodged himſelf in a Monaſtery, would not budge out of it, for all that could be ſaid to him, and for which his Perfidiouſneſs, the *French* King had been detained a Priſoner by the Emperor; if the King of *England*, who had made a Peace with *France* but a little before, and was grown wonderful fond of his new Pope, had not marched into the Neighbourhood of that City, with a good Army; for which Affection, and great Service, that King was well rewarded by *Alexander*, after he was eſtabliſhed by him in the Papacy. The Seditious and Sawcy Prelate *Thomas a Becket*, having been encouraged and ſupported by him in all his Inſolences againſt that King, and the ancient Conſtitutions of his Kingdom, and thus Princes by aſſiſting the Biſhops of *Rome* to ſhake off the Yoke of their natural Sovereigns, did before they were aware raiſe a Power over themſelves which ruled them all, for ſeveral Ages, with a Rod of Iron; all of them, in their turns, having been trampled on by it.

Victor, having now had the Honour of going to two Places to meet his Antagoniſt, who had declined to meet him, did call a Synod, in which *Rowland* and his Followers were all a ſecond time Anathematized as Schiſmaticks, but *Victor* having died at *Luca* the Year following

following, *Alexander*, if we may believe him, was so much afflicted at the News of his Death, that for having seen one with signs of Joy in his Face, he reproved him for it, telling him gravely, *that the Death of one who was Damned, was a Matter of deep Sorrow*; giving the World to understand by that malicious piece of Dissimulation, that he did not doubt of *Victor*'s Soul being in Hell, for having contended with him so long about the Papacy, and upon his Word, *Baronius* affirms *Victor*'s Soul to be in that place of Torment, as positively, as if he had seen it there; and yet *Victor* is said by *Otho Laudensis, to have been illustrious for the Miracles which he wrought*, and whose Authority is altogether as good as theirs is, by whom *Peter* of *Tarentasia* is said to have wrought Miracles in *Alexander*'s Favour.

But tho' *Victor*'s Death was a great strengthning to *Alexander*, who lamented it so much, it did not put an end to this Schism, *Victor*'s Cardinals having soon after his Death, chosen *Guido Cremensis* Pope, who took the Name of *Paschal*, and was not only confirmed by the Emperor, but all Christians were exhorted by him to acknowledge him to be the true *Roman Pontiff*; and the Year following the Emperor called a Synod at *Hirbipolis*, against *Alexander*, who being got into *Italy*, and having engaged the *Lombards* and *Venetians* on his Side, was playing his old Pranks

Pranks there. The King of *England* being grown ſick of the Pope, he had ſo lately preſerved from Ruin, did ſend Embaſſadors to that Council, and in a Letter which went by them to the Biſhop of *Cologne*, he told them, *That he had long deſired to have a juſt Occaſion of receding from Pope* Alexander, *and his perfidious Cardinals, by whom the Traytor* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *had been encouraged and ſupported, in all his Inſolencies.* For to do *Becket* Juſtice, he had the Spirit of *Hildebrand* in him to Perfection; and for which, as he was maintained by the Popes as long as he lived, ſo to keep that ſort of Spirit in Credit, he was Canonized by them after his Death; and, together with bold Pretences of his dead Body working numberleſs Miracles, all other Arts were uſed by them for to exalt his Honour, as a true Martyr for the Papacy, and for its ambitious Deſigns againſt the Authority of all Princes.

The Emperor having been ſolicited to come into *Italy* to drive *Alexander* out of it, did in the Year 1167, appear with an Army before *Rome*, and having in a Battel beat the *Romans* ſoundly, he entred that City, and was with his Empreſs ſoon after crowned in it by Pope *Paſchal*, who having died three Years after, *John* Abbot of *Struma* was choſen Pope, and who in the ſeventh Year after his Election, was depoſed by a Council in *Venice*; at which the Emperor, by the ne-

ceſſity of his Affairs, was obliged to be reconciled to Pope *Alexander*, and to acknowledge him Biſhop of *Rome*: The Schiſm laſted ſeventeen Years, and coſt Chriſtendom many thouſands of Lives.

The two and twentieth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *John* the twenty Second, and *Nicholas*: This *John* was by a Trick choſe Biſhop of *Rome* at *Lions* in *France*, in which Kingdom the Popes had then reſided for ſome Years.

For the Cardinals upon the Death of *Clement* the Seventh being aſſembled at *Carpentras*, a Town in the Dioceſs of *Avinion*, to chooſe a new Pope; by the *Gaſcoin* Cardinals inſiſting on having one of their Country choſe, and by the *Italians* and *French* having vehemently oppoſed it, they were ſo divided, and put into ſo great Heats, that after they had been ſhut up three Months in the *Conclave*, they could not agree on any thing, but to break up, and adjourn that Election to another time. And tho' the time was fixed by them before they left that Place, their Spirits were ſo ſtrangely exaſperated one againſt another, that two Years were paſt, before they met again. Neither would they have ſeen one another then, if they had not been brought together by a Stratagem of the Count *de Poiters* the *French* King's Brother, who having gone to the City of *Lions* on purpoſe, he ſent to every one of the Cardi-

nals

nals privately to come to him there, pretending he had an Affair of great Importance to communicate to them from the King. And all, or moſt of them, having, before they would venture to go thither, had that Prince's word of Honour, that they ſhould be at their liberty to leave that City when they pleaſed; they did all go to wait upon him, without knowing any thing of any other Cardinals being there. And a Conclave having been ſecretly provided for them in a Convent by that Prince, when he had them all in *Lions*, he told them, the Affair he had to communicate to them from the King was, That they ſhould go together and chooſe a Pope, and when they had done that, they ſhould be at their liberty to go where they pleaſed. So he ſhut them all up in the Conclave; and to bring down their proud Stomachs, he allowed them but a very ſhort Diet. But though their ſhort Commons did not pleaſe them, at the end of forty Days there was as little hopes of their agreeing, as there was the firſt Day they were ſhut up. But when they perceived that until they came to an Election, they would certainly be kept under the Diſcipline of that ſhort Diet, they compounded the Matter, and did all agree to devolve the Nomination of the Pope upon the ſingle Cardinal of *Porto*, to which the *Gaſcoins* were induced by having looked on that Cardinal as one of themſelves, being a

Native of *Cahors*; and the *Italian* Cardinals had agreed to it, upon his having promiſed them faithfully in Secret, That if he were Pope, he would forthwith return to *Rome*, and reſide there all his Days. That Cardinal having had this great Power committed to him, he did not uſe the Ceremony of *Nolo Epiſcopare*, but did modeſtly name himſelf Biſhop of *Rome*. And being Pope, he ſo far forgot the ſolemn Promiſe he had made the *Italian* Cardinals, that he lived and died in *France*, and never went near *Rome* nor *Italy*.

This falſe Man had not been long Pope, before the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was Excommunicated and Depoſed by him; and that brave Prince to be revenged on him for his Inſolence and Injuſtice, having marched into *Italy* with an Army, and made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, as I think, all the Princes and Generals that ever attempted it have done; he did with the conſent of the Clergy and People of that City, according to the ancient Cuſtom, nominate *Peter Corborius*, a famous *Franciſcan* Friar Biſhop of *Rome*; and who having taken the Name of *Nicholas*, he ſoon after crowned the Emperor with great ſolemnity, and created the Biſhop of *Venice*, and divers other great Prelates, Cardinals. But his Pontificate was very ſhort, for having within a Year aſſembled a Synod in *Piſa*, at which the Emperor was preſent, and in which he

he Depoſed and Excommunicated Pope *John*, and all that adher'd to him. He was, upon the Emperor's having left him in that City, made a cloſe Priſoner by the *Piſans*, though they had all a little before conſented to all that was done in that Synod, and had ſet their hands to it. This Pope, and the Emperor by whom he was Nominated, beſides moſt of the *German* and *Italian* Eccleſiaſticks, had on their ſide a great part of the *Franciſcan* Order, namely, their General *Michael Cæſenes*, and *Occham*, who was eſteemed the moſt learned Friar of his Age; in which it is true, Learning did run very low in the *Weſt*, and who to encourage the Emperor, ſaid to him, *Sir, if you will defend me againſt Pope* John's *Violence with your Sword, I will defend your Title againſt him with my Pen.* But Pope *Nicholas* notwithſtanding he had ſo many great Friends, having by the *Piſans* been delivered into his Adverſary Pope *John*'s Hands, he, though the poor old Man appeared to be very Penitent, did treat him as if he had been a Dog; for he was brought into his preſence with a Rope about his Neck, and after he had obliged him to make a moſt humble Submiſſion and Confeſſion of his Fault, he kept him in cloſe durance all his Days; as Pope *Alexander* not long before had kept his Predeceſſor Pope *Celeſtine*, after he had either by Fraud or Terrors, or by both, brought

him to resign the *Roman See*, that he might leap into it himself.

Wadingus the *Franciscan* Annalist, will have *Nicholas*, after the Emperor had left him in *Luca*, to have been so much troubled in Conscience for what he had done, that he resolved to lay down his Claim to the Papacy; and did write to Pope *John* to acquaint him with that his Intention: And that having received some Promises from that Pope, *Nicholas* went of his own accord into *France*, and was as long as he lived well entertain'd there. What truth there may be in this Story of *Wadingus*'s, which contradicts the former account that was given by the Writers of that Age, deserves not an enquiry: For supposing it to be true, *John*'s behaviour towards that Penitent can be the less justified: For *Wadingus* acknowledgeth, that *Nicholas* was brought into *John*'s presence with a Rope about his Neck, which in all likelihood was not his own Desire; neither is it likely that it was an Article in the Treaty that was betwixt them, that he should be kept a close Prisoner all his Days, as *Wadingus* acknowledgeth he was. But so that the World will but think well of *Nicholas*, who was a *Franciscan* Friar, and who is by *Wadingus*, who was a *Franciscan* too, represented as an extraordinary Saint, tho' by others who lived near his time, he is said to have been one of the worst of Men. *Wadingus* will give them

leave

leave to think as ill of Pope *John* as they pleaſe, who was ſo great a Perſecutor of that Order, that I am miſtaken if it was not once in his Thoughts to have diſſolved it

The Three and Twentieth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, laſted at leaſt forty Years, and gave all *Europe* great Diſturbances.

The Papal See, after having been ſeventy Years in *Avinion* in *France*, was, in the Year 1377, brought back to *Rome* by *Gregory* the Eleventh, and who having died there two Years after, the *Romans* fearing if a *Frenchman* was choſen Pope, that he would carry back that *See* to *Avinion* again, they did all riſe as one Man, and having inveſted the Conclave, did threaten to cut the Cardinals in pieces, if they did not chooſe a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian*. The *French* Cardinals being much terrified with theſe Threatnings, gave their Voices for *Bartholomew* Archbiſhop of *Barr*, who tho' by Birth he was an *Italian*, had lived the greateſt part of his time in *France*; and who being thus elected, took the Name of *Urban*.

After the Election was over, and the City quiet, the *French* Cardinals, and with them ſome *Italians*, withdrew themſelves from *Rome*, and being got to *Fundi*, a place of Safety and Liberty, they did write to *Urban*, and charg'd him by all that was Sacred, not to look upon himſelf as Biſhop of *Rome*, which he knew

he was not, his Election being void by the force that was used in it. *Urban*, though he knew that as well as they could tell it him, yet having sate in the *Roman See*, and having the whole City on his side, he would not, upon the nicety of a Nullity in his Election, relinquish it. The *French* Cardinals having understood so much by him, they proceeded to a New Election, and chose *Robert*, Brother to the Count *Savennis*, and Cardinal Presbyter of the twelve Apostles, who took the Name of *Clement*.

Urban, when he heard of the Election at *Fundi*, went briskly to work with the Cardinals that had made it; and by a Papal definitive Sentence, declared them all to be Schismaticks and Traytors, Excommunicating them, and all that adher'd to them. And having but a very thin College left, he strengthened himself much by creating Twenty-nine *Italian* Ecclesiasticks of Figure, Cardinals in one Day. After having done that, he dispatch'd his Letters to all the Kings and Princes in *Europe*, to acquaint them with his Election, and with the Schism the *French* Cardinals were about to raise in the Church. Neither was *Clement* idle all this while; for he thundered out his Excommunications against *Urban* and all his Adherents. And writ Letters to all Kings and Princes to bespeak their Obedience. And having got together a good body of *French* and other Troops, he took

took poſſeſſion of a great part of St: *Peter's* Patrimony, and did very much ſtraiten the City of *Rome*.

The Princes, to whom the two Popes had written, conſulted with their Intereſts to be directed by them, to which of the Two they ſhould adhere. So *France* declared it ſelf preſently for *Clement*, and ſo did *Scotland*, *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Sicily*, *England*, which in thoſe Days underſtood its own Intereſt ſo well, as not to do a thing that would viſibly advance the power of *France*, declared preſently for *Urban*, and beſides *Rome*, and a part of *Italy*, it was the only Country I can find that declared for him at firſt. But to ſupply that want, *Urban* had two Women on his ſide, who were worth perhaps two Kingdoms to him; they were St. *Bridget*, who at that time lived in *Rome*, and St. *Catharine* of *Sienna*. As to *Bridget*, ſhe having been asked, Whether *Urban* had been duly elected Pope or not? Did, with an Oath affirm, *That he had been choſen Voluntarily and Freely by the Cardinals, who were under no manner of force, nor fear, when they choſe him.* What *Bridget* might have revealed to her, no body but her ſelf can tell; but in Fact the contrary to what ſhe Affirmed and Swore was manifeſt to the whole City of *Rome*. So that if all *Bridget's* Revelations, and which are ſaid to be numberleſs, were like this, it is not hard to tell, from whom ſhe muſt have had

had them. And *Catharine* of *Sienna*, who was likewiſe famous at that Time for her Revelations, did in a Letter, which ſhe writ to the Emperor in *Urban*'s Favour, aſſure him, though it is not ſaid ſhe ſwore it, as *Bridget* did, That *Urban* had not been choſen Pope by the Cardinals out of fear, but voluntarily.

Now pretended Revelations were too much regarded in this Age, for *Clement* not to uſe that Weapon too; ſo *Vincent Ferrier*, an *Arragoneſe Dominican* Friar, famous both for Revelations, and for working of Miracles, poſſitively affirm'd, the true Title to the *Roman See* to be in *Clement*. So that if no other means but confident Reports of Revelations and Miracles, had ever been uſed to have put an end to this Schiſm, it muſt have laſted till Dooms-Day. For as *Mezeray* a Papiſt obſerves, all the Popes had thoſe Teſtimonies of their ſeveral Titles being good.

But whoever had the Advantage of this Weapon, at the Sword *Urban* had the better of it, by whom *Clement* was conſtrained to leave *Italy*, and to go into *France*, to try what he could make of his Title there, and where it was kept up by him and his Succeſſor above thirty Years.

Now *Clement* had left *Italy*, the Prince of all others that diſquieted *Urban* the moſt, becauſe ſhe was in his Neighbourhood, was *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, a zealous *Clementine*.

To

To take this Thorn out of his Side, *Urban* applied himself warmly to *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, offering to bestow the Crown of *Naples* on his Kinsman *Charles de Duras*, if he would send him into *Italy* with an Army to take Possession of it. This *Charles* was in Blood nearly related to that Queen, and educated by her with great Tenderness; and she having no Children, had married him to her Niece, with an Intention to have made him her Heir. So that no Prince could possibly be under greater Obligations of Gratitude to another, than *Charles* was under to that Queen. But though nothing else can spy them, Ambition sees such Charms in Crowns, that it commonly breaks through all Bonds to come at them. It did so with *Charles*, at least, who having been furnished with a good Army by the King of *Hungary*, marched first to *Rome*, where he received the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* from *Urban:* And having thus got a Title to that Kingdom, he march'd immediately to take Possession of it. The City of *Naples* was surrender'd to him as soon as he came before it; and the *Castle del Ovo*, to which the Queen had retreated, was soon reduc'd. The Queen having fallen into *Charles*'s Hands, was made a close Prisoner; and in the End was strangled by him in Prison. Few doubted of *Urban*'s having consented to, if he did not order that execrable Murder of a Sovereign Prince,

Prince, and from *Urban*'s not having mentioned this, as any Crime in *Charles*, when upon a Quarrel betwixt them he charged him with all the ill Things he had done; it ſeems to be pretty plain, that *Urban* himſelf had a Hand in that Murder.

The Clergy of *Naples* having with their Queen, ſtill adhered ſtifly to *Clement*, were by *Charles* impriſoned, depoſed, and very barbarouſly uſed; ſo that to ſupply the Vacancies which *Charles* had made in the Epiſcopal *Sees* in *Naples*, no fewer than two and thirty Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, were named by *Urban*, in one Day, for that Kingdom; who to ſtrengthen himſelf after his own Election, did in one Day create nine and twenty Cardinals.

Clement, being ſenſible how much *Urban* had fortify'd himſelf by this great and ſudden Revolution in *Naples*, did ſet himſelf to undo it, if it were poſſible, and to that end, he beſtowed the Crowns of *Naples* and *Jeruſalem* on the Duke of *Anjou*; and having crowned him at *Avignion*, he drive him into *Italy*. That Prince paſſed the *Alps* with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, the greateſt that ever paſſed them before out of *France*, and being come into *Savoy*, the Earl of that Country came to him with fifteen hundred Lances; and the great Deteſtation the *Italians* had conceived againſt *Charles*, brought great Numbers in to him, in all the Places thro' which he marched.

marched. *Urban* was such a Composition of Pride, Cruelty, Falshood and Avarice, that as desirous as the *Romans* were to have the Papal *See* among them, they chose to be without it, rather than have it with such a Pope. And it was the same with *France* and *Clement*; for tho' it was certainly of it self, a great Advantage to that Kingdom to have the Papal *See* in it; yet such were *Clement*'s and his Successors Practices, that it had been happy for *France* to have been without it, during the Time of this long Schism: For in one Thing the contending Popes were all a like, which was, that none of them stuck at any thing, that they thought would strengthen their Pretences.

So the People of *Rome*, not being able to endure *Urban*'s Tyrannies any longer, did rise to have drive him out of the City; but though for that Time, that great Tumult was appeased by the soft Words *Urban* gave the People, yet his Life having been in great Danger in it, he left *Rome* soon after; and went to *Ferentum*, from whence he sent his Monitory Letters to *Charles*, his new King of *Naples*, with whom he had quarrel'd already, upon that King's having deny'd to make *Urban*'s Nephew, as he had promised, Prince of *Capua*: And in which Letters, *Urban* gave *Charles* plainly to understand, that he would depose him for that Breach of Faith, if he did not keep his Word with him. It ap-

appeared afterwards, that *Urban* at that time was in a ſecret Treaty with the King of *Arragon*, to help his Nephew to that Principality: Theſe Monitory Letters were much ſlighted by *Charles*, who was ſo to Pieces with *Urban*, that nothing could have brought them together again but their common Safety, which was ſo viſibly threatned by the Duke of *Anjou*. By that neceſſity *Urban*, after he had uſed *Charles* ſo coarſly, having been conſtrained to put himſelf into his Hands, he went to *Averſa*, a City not far from *Naples*, where *Charles* having met him, he did anſwer his firſt Expectation, by paying him all the humble Adorations which the Popes of late Years have looked for from Princes. The firſt Night they ſupped together very friendly, but *Charles* having ſent ſome of his Officers next Day, to invite *Urban* up to the Caſtle, he did not only refuſe to go, but he denounced an Anathema againſt all that ſhould offer to carry him thither by force. But that would not do, for to the Caſtle he was carried, and being in it was confined until he had granted a Relaxation to *Charles*, from all the hard Conditions he had clog'd his Inveſtiture withal: When that was done they went as Friends together to *Naples*, where *Urban* intended to have lodged in the Archiepiſcopal Palace: But *Charles* looking on the Caſtle as a more proper Place for him, he lodged him in it, much againſt his Will; and

it

it having been now discovered that *Urban*, to have gained the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and to have got the Principality of *Capua* for his Nephew, had offered the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the King of *Arragon*'s Daughter, who should be married to the King of *Castile*; *Urban* was upon that made a close Prisoner in the Castle for sixteen Days; during which time *Charles* obtained of him all the Securities that he judged to be necessary. After that *Urban* was not only set at liberty, but was conducted in State to the Archiepiscopal Palace, where *Charles* and he appeared to be as good Friends as if there had never been any Difference betwixt them; for they were both *Italians*, and knew well how to dissemble.

Urban being thus in an *Italian* Friendship with *Charles*, he called on him incessantly to go out and fight the Duke of *Anjou*, and to encourage and strengthem him to do it, he excommunicated that Duke by Name, as a Schismatick and Heretick; and having declared that to be an holy War, he gave Indulgences of all their Sins, to all that would go in Person against that Duke, or that would give Money to carry on a War against him; but so little did *Charles* trust to his Wars being holy, and his Troops being all armed with Plenary Papal Indulgences, that when he had taken the Field, he avoided coming to a Battle with the *French* all that he could; and did,

did, by amuſing the Duke of *Anjou*, for ſome time, with a Challenge to fight him in Perſon, and by other Arts of Conduct, reduce that Duke and his Army to ſuch Straits, that they had neither Victuals, Cloaths nor Forage, and the Plague having come among them, it made ſuch a Havock in his Army, that few of the *French* did ever return home, and if any did, it was in no Body, but only as Straglers. The Duke of *Anjou* himſelf died likewiſe, not of the Plague, but of mere Diſcontent and Vexation; and pity it was that he had not taken *Clement*, by whom he was ſent on that Errand, along with him. Neither did the *Neapolitan* Army, though its Sins were all forgiven, eſcape the Peſtilence, which ſwept away the greateſt Part of them, *Charles* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped dying of it; and if he had, now the *French* Army was totally deſtroyed, *Urban* would not have been much troubled at it; who was ſo little fond of ſeeing *Charles* any more, that before he returned to *Naples*, *Urban* had ſlipt out of that City, and thrown himſelf into *Nuceria*, a ſtrong Town belonging to the Church, not far from the *Appenines*. *Charles*, though he was troubled to find *Urban* play faſt and looſe with him thus, did nevertheleſs write to him, to know the Reaſon why he had left *Naples* ſo, and to invite him to return. With which Civility, *Urban* was ſo far from being pleaſed, that he commanded

manded *Charles*'s Messenger to tell his Master, that it was the Custom of all Kings and Princes, when they had any Business with the Bishop of *Rome*, to go and wait upon him, and not to send for that Bishop to come to them: And to tell him farther, that he must not oppress and tyrannize over his Subjects as he had done, and must send the Tribute to him which is due from the Kingdom of *Naples* to the *Roman See*, and must not go into *Hungary* to disturb *Maximilian*'s Election there: Of all which Commands, *Charles* made so little Account; that he declared the Crown of *Naples* had come to him by Inheritance, and not by *Urban*'s Donation, and that he was resolved to go to *Hungary*, and get that Crown for himself if he could. We are not told how this rude Breach was so soon patched up betwixt *Charles* and *Urban*, unless it was their common Safety that brought them together again; for not long after this we do find *Urban* in *Naples*, where to make himself Friends in *Germany*, now that he had so few left in *Italy*, in one Day, he created the three Electors of *Mentz*, *Triers* and *Cologn*, and the Bishop of *Liege* Cardinals; by which, and some other little Arts, the weak Emperor *Wenceslaus* was so much obliged, that he declared himself zealously for *Urban*, though he never did him, nor no body else, no not himself, any Service.

But whatever was the Cauſe of it, *Charles* and *Urban* could never hold long together; and ſo *Urban* having fancied, that the Cardinals that were about him were enter'd into a Conſpiracy to take away his Life; and that the Cardinal who was *Charles*'s firſt Miniſter, was the chief Man in that Plot. He ſtole away from *Naples*, and returned to *Nuceria*, to which Place ſix of the Cardinals that he ſuſpected having had ſo little Wit as to follow him, he had them all ſix arreſted there, and having put ſome of them to the Queſtion, they did confeſs, that there had been ſuch a Conſpiracy. *Urban*, who was reſolved to have the Lives of thoſe ſix Cardinals, not judging it to be ſafe to execute them in *Nuceria*, which was in *Charles*'s Neighbourhood, and whoſe firſt Miniſter was the chief Perſon in that Plot; he left that Place, and went to *Genoa*, and having taken his ſix Priſoners along with him, he put five of them to Death there: the ſixth, who was an Engliſhman, had his Life given him at the Interceſſion of the King of *England*, who was *Urban*'s beſt Friend: and againſt which Cardinal, nothing more had been proved, but that he once ſaid, that *Urban* was a Man of great Pride; and to gratify the King of *England* farther, *Urban* whilſt he was in *Genoa*, did proclaim the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s War with the King of *Caſtile*, to be an holy War, and ſtrengthened it with all the cuſtomary Indulgences.

Whilſt

Whilſt *Urban* was at *Nuceria*, a certain famous *French* Hermit came to him, with a freſh Revelation from Heaven, but it was in *Clement*'s Favour; he told *Urban* that he would ſpeedily pull down terrible Judgments upon his own Head if he did not give over all Pretentions to the Papacy, to which he had no right. But *Urban*, not being ſo forward to believe this *French* Hermit's Revelation, as he was *Briget*'s, he asked him, how he knew that Revelation to be true, and not a fantaſtical Eluſion; and the Hermit having given him no ſatisfactory Anſwer, he ordered him to be thrown into Goal; and having given him there a ſound Torture upon the Wrack, the *French* Hermit confeſſed the whole Cheat; for which *Urban* had reſolved to have burnt the Hermit alive, if he had not been hinder'd by ſome of his Councellors, who told him it would be the greateſt Diſſervice he could do his Cauſe, that Hermit, being to their Knowledge, looked on all over *France*, as a great Saint.

Urban remained about a Year in *Genoa*, and would probably have ſtayed there longer, if the *Doeg* of that Republick had not begun to talk to him earneſtly, to put an End to the preſent great Schiſm, by promiſing to make a Ceſſion, if *Clement* would promiſe to do it; for as he did not love to hear that Diſcourſe, ſo being under ſome Apprehenſions, that if he ſtayed longer in *Genoa*,

he might be detained there, and be forced to make a Ceſſion, he left that City; but before he went, to ſatisfie the *Genoeſes*, who are ſharp Merchants, for a great Debt he had contracted among them, he mortgaged to them ſeveral Towns, which belonged to the Papacy. From *Genoa Urban* went to *Luca*, and to divers other Places, and being at laſt invited by the *Romans* to return Home, he went to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after, in the Twelfth Year after his Election; moſt of which time, he had been kept on his Legs, not by his Friends, for they were few, and the beſt of them at a great diſtance from him; but by his Enemies having had their Hands ſo full of other Buſineſs, that they were not at Leiſure to pull him down.

Urban and his Succeſſors, and not *Clement* and his, are nevertheleſs by all the *Roman* Writers, ſince the End of that Schiſm, reckoned to have been the true Biſhops of *Rome*; and do accordingly take their Places in all the Catalogues of the Popes, though I can ſee no Reaſon for it, conſidering how plain a Nullity there was in *Urban's* Election.

A Popiſh Writer ſpeaking of this Schiſm, ſaith, it was the worſt, and moſt ſubtile that was ever in the *Roman See*, and was ſo perplexed, that the moſt learned, and moſt conſcientious Men, could not decide to whom they were rather to adhere; it was continued

ed for forty Years with great Scandal, &c. Wherefore from this *Urban* the Sixth, to *Martin* the Seventh, I know not who was Pope; and *Mezeray* a Papiſh ſpeaking of it, ſaith, this Schiſm laſted forty Years, either Party having great Perſons, Saints, Miracles and Revelations, as they ſaid, and even ſuch ſtrong Arguments and Reaſons on his Side, that the Diſpute could never be decided, but by way of Ceſſion: That is by obliging the Two, he ſhould have ſaid the Three, to abdicate the Papacy; ſo that it is great Boldneſs to call thoſe Antipopes, who during this Schiſm held that *See* at *Avignion*. And if this be a great Boldneſs, what is it notwithſtanding this, and twenty more viſible Breaches in the Papal Succeſſion, to affirm that Succeſſion to be whole and entire.

Urban being dead, the Cardinals in *Rome*, who were but Fourteen in Number, choſe the Cardinal of St. *Anaſtaſius*, who took the Name of *Boniface*, and to make himſelf popular at firſt, he did ſoon after his Election write to all Kings and Princes, and to *Clement himſelf*, offering to abdicate the Papacy, if *Clement* would do it too, that an end might be put to the preſent great Schiſm which diſturbed *Europe* ſo much. This was a Thing, *Boniface*, tho' he had never intended it, might very ſafely venture to offer, being pretty ſure, that *Clement*, who was ſo much ſtronger than he, at that time,

and who, I think, had the better Title too, would never agree to it; and which he was so far from, that the Friar, who had the Courage to bring that Proposition to him from *Boniface*, was thrown by him into a Goal, where he might have lain long enough, if all *France* had not roared against *Clement*'s appearing so averse to the putting an end to that Schism at his own Cost. This obliged *Clement* to set that Friar at Liberty; and afterwards on all Occasions to express a wonderful Zeal to have an End put to the Schism; but without saying a Word of his being ready to abdicate, to bring it about.

But though it was not safe for any Person to speak to *Clement* about abdicating, the University of *Paris*, which made a great Figure in the World in those Days, and which from the beginning of the Schism had always been for putting an End to it by the Cession of both Parties, had the Courage to send him a very bold Remonstrance concerning that Matter; and *Clement* having by his Cardinals been obliged to hear it read, he was as one Thunder-struck, being thrown by it into Agonies that carried him off presently.

The University of *Paris* by their Remonstrance, having thus dispatched *Clement* into the next World, was for making the most of his Death; and to that End they got the King to write Letters to *Avignion*, to let the Car-

Cardinals know, that he would not have them proceed to the Election of a new Pope. The Cardinals thinking it would be ſo, had made the more haſte into the Conclave. And though the King's Letters came to their Hands, before the Election, knowing what they imported, they did not open them until after they had choſen the Cardinal *Peter de Luna*, an *Arragoneſe*, a Man of great Wealth, Courage, and Dexterity; but who was as falſe as Nature and the Papal Court could make him. He took the Name of *Benedict*; and in *Clement*'s Time had at *Paris*, and in other Places publickly maintained, That an End could not be put to the preſent Schiſm by any way but by a Ceſſion of both Parties; and had often declared, That were he Pope he would never reſt 'till he had brought it about. And as nothing beſides his Money had promoted his Election, being a *Spaniard*, ſo much as that Profeſſion; ſo ſince an Election had been precipitated, the King and the Univerſity of *Paris* were well pleaſed that it had fallen on one that was ſo well diſpoſed. Beſides, he and all the reſt of the Cardinals, as ſoon as they had enter'd the Conclave, did take an Oath ſolemnly at the Altar, if they were choſen Pope to make a Ceſſion whenever it ſhould be judged by the Cardinals to be convenient.

Whilſt theſe Profeſſions and Oaths were freſh in *Benedict*'s Conſcience, and before he

could well have felt the Charms that are in the Papal See. The *French* King called an Aſſembly of his Biſhops, and having concluded, that an End could not be put to the preſent Schiſm by any other way but by the Ceſſion of both Parties; the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Berry*, and *Burgundy*, were ſent by the King to *Avignion*, to ſettle that Matter with *Benedict*; and with them went ſome Deputies from the Univerſity of *Paris*.

So many Princes going on this Errand, looks as if the Court of *France* did apprehend there might be ſome Difficulty in it, notwithſtanding *Benedict*'s late Oath, and former Profeſſions. But whatever they thought, they found it ſo; for they no ſooner began to ſpeak to him about a Ceſſion, than they ſaw plainly that his late Oath, and former Profeſſions ſeemed to be forgot by him. At firſt he told them, That the true Title to the *Roman See* being certainly in him, he was not ſatsify'd that he could abdicate it with a good Conſcience. For as ſuch an Abdication would create a very bad Preſident; ſo for the Pilot of St. *Peter*'s Boat to forſake her in ſo great a Storm, he ſaid, he was afraid would be a very great Sin in him. He told them afterwards he was of Opinion, That a better way might be found for the remedying of the preſent Schiſm, than by the Ceſſion of both Parties, and did propoſe ſeveral of thoſe ways

ways to them. And at last he told them, That he was resolved to go to *Rome* himself, there to confer with *Boniface* about it; and that he did not doubt of being able to convince him of his having no Title to the *Roman See*, that he would relinquish it presently. And accordingly he named Commissaries to go into *Italy*, to obtain a safe Conduct for him from the Count of *Fundi*; and others to go to *Rome* to have an Interview with *Boniface*. But the truth is, *Benedict*'s perceiving that he should never be quiet in *France*, and the less for not being of that Nation; it was in his Thoughts from the beginning, to leave that Kingdom, and to go and reside in some City in *Italy*, on whose Strength and Fidelity he might depend. So that his sending Commissaries thither for a safe Conduct and Interview, was projected by him for no other end, but only to be a blind to the Negociating of that other great Affair with a convenient Secrecy.

The *French* Princes being very angry at being thus disappointed in a Business, in which they had promised themselves good Success; and from that Success, great Praise, *Benedict*, according to the Custom of all the contending Popes, did endeavour to sweeten them at the Cost of the Clergy, giving them a new Grant of the Tenths, that which they had from *Clement* having expired with his Breath.

The

The Emperor likewiſe writ to *Benedict* to Abdicate, ſince *Boniface*, to whom he adhered was ready to do it. But as it was not at all likely that *Benedict* ſhould do a thing at the inſtance of a remote Prince, and who did not acknowledge him, which he had deny'd to the *French*, among whom he lived. So that Emperor had no great reaſon to be ſo confident of his Popes being ſo ready to Abdicate. For though it is true he ſtill appeared Zealous to have both Parties make a Ceſſion, and the more ſo, for being pretty ſure that *Benedict* would never conſent to it; yet at the ſame time, he did all that he was able to ſtrengthen himſelf ſo, that he might not be conſtrained to do ſo odious an Act. And to that end, he did ſet his whole Strength to drive the Duke of *Anjou* out of *Naples*, and to reſtore *Ladiſlaus*, whoſe Father *Charles* having been choſen King of *Hungary*, was murder'd there by one of the Palatines of that Kingdom; and which was a juſt Judgment upon him for the murther of the Queen of *Naples*. And to ſcrape Money together, to ſupport him in the Papacy, he ſet forth an Edict, declaring all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, that within a Year after their Promotion, did not exhibit their Letter of Aſſumption to have no Right to their Dignities. After this Edict moſt of the Eccleſiaſticks who were promoted to any conſiderable Preferment, by either of the Popes, or by

by the Princes that adhered to them, to ſecure their Titles, had them ſecretly confirmed both at *Rome* and at *Avignion*, for which Confirmations great Fees were paid.

Soon after *Benedict* was elected, the *French* King had written to the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, to join with him to oblige *Benedict*, according to his late Oath and Profeſſions, to Abdicate the Papacy. Thoſe Kings did both return the ſame Anſwer, which was, That they could come to no Reſolution about that Matter, before they had adviſed with their Clergy. But having been afterwards informed by *Benedict*, that the *French* were very hard upon him, and for no other reaſon but becauſe he was a *Spaniard*. They both writ to the *French* King, deſiring him to ſhew the ſame Reſpects due to *Benedict*, he ſhewed to *Clement*, who had both one and the ſame Title; adding, that if he did not, a proper place would be provided for the Throne of the Apoſtolical See, in one of their Countries.

This ſet the *French* more againſt *Benedict* than they were before, and all the Cardinals, except one, being for his Abdicating. The King reſolved to make him obſerve his Oath; and to that end, he invited the Emperor, the Kings of *England* and of *Navarre*, and of divers other Princes to an Interview: And *Rheims* having been agreed on for the Place, the Emperor did meet the *French* King there; and

and the King of *England* and *Navarre* ſent their Embaſſadors. Divers other Princes were there in Perſon; but the Duke of *Burgundy* refuſed to come, ſaying, *He knew it would be to no purpoſe.* There were alſo Deputies from the Univerſity of *Paris.* It was unanimouſly agreed at this Interview, that both *Benedict* and *Boniface* ſhould Abdicate the Papacy, and that a Third Perſon ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be acknowledged by them all to be the true Biſhop of *Rome.*

Soon after this Aſſembly of *Rheims*, a Diet of the Empire met at *Frankfort*, to which Deputies were ſent by the Univerſity of *Paris*, the indefatigable Proſecutor of all the contending Popes. In that Diet it was reſolved, That all Princes ſhould be deſired to oblige the Pope to whom they adhered, to make a Ceſſion; and accordingly ſome Princes were ſent to *Rome* by that Diet; and with whom went the Embaſſadors of *England* to take *Boniface*'s Abdication; the *French* King having promiſed to ſubſtract his Obedience from *Benedict*, if he did not Abdicate too. But the *Engliſh* and *Germans* when they came to *Rome* did not find their Pope ſo forward to Abdicate, as his repeated offers to do it, had made them believe he was; for he did not only refuſe to make a Ceſſion, but he was very angry with the *Germans*, for having preſumed to trouble him with ſuch an Application,

plication, without having the Emperor's Consent. It is true, the Emperor not having been at the Diet, had not consented to it, he and the Princes of the Empire being all to pieces at that time, and by whom he was not long after Deposed. However, *Boniface* knew very well, that at *Rheims* the Emperor had consented to his being required to Abdicate; so that nothing but *Boniface*'s being resolved not to make a Cession, could have prompted him to have made that Exception.

This juggling of all the contending Popes, and that Epidemical Corruption which it had caused, offended devout People so, that out of such, rise something like a *Croisado*, to put a stop to it. It is said by some to have begun in *Scotland*, and to have passed through *Germany* into *Italy*, where People of all Degrees flock'd to it so, that at *Viterbum* they were thirty thousand together in one Body. They were all in White, as Penitents, and for that reason were called the *Albati*; they walk'd with their Faces covered, and were, all the way they went, either calling on People to Repentance and Amendment in Life, or Praying, or Singing Psalms, and Litanies, and such a wonderful Reformation of Manners was wrought in all the places through which they pass'd, that it was look'd on by many as a great Secret from God. And as it was their intention from the beginning to

go

go to *Rome* to preach the Doctrine of Repentance to *Boniface*; so that City, as well as others, being visibly well disposed to receive them with Joy, *Boniface* took care to divert that Visit; having, when he heard it was come as near him as *Viterbum*, sent out some Troops to let them know, that he did not desire their Company; they were easily dispersed by the Papal Troops, for they had no Arms, neither did they offer to make the least Resistance; and the Priest who was their chief Leader and Preacher, having been carried to *Rome*, *Boniface* first gave him the Torture, and an ill Name, and afterwards burnt him alive. For whatever other Princes might do, Popes will not for the sake of the greatest appearances of Piety and Devotion, nor upon the strongest Reports of the Gift of Miracles, pardon any that have frighted or offended them.

Benedict, when he saw nothing but his Abdicating would satisfy the *French*, laid out for a Place of Safety in *Italy*, to retreat to; and looking on *Civita-Vecha*, for its lying upon the Sea, and not being very far from *Rome*, and for being capable of being made Impregnable, as the best Place for him in all that Country; he did resolve, whatever it cost him, to buy it of the Count of *Fundi*. And that this Negotiation might not take Air, for that would have ruined it, the Commissaries that were sent into *Italy* to obtain

from

from that Count, and others a ſafe Conduct, for *Benedict* to go to *Rome* to confer with *Boniface*, were imployed as Agents in it; thoſe Commiſſaries when they arrived at *Rome*, were kindly received and entertained there, but *Boniface* and they, though they had ſeveral Treaties about it, could not ſettle the Affair of the Interview: And no wonder, ſince that was never intended by *Benedict*, but was made uſe of only as a Blind to the buying of *Civita-Vecha*; which City, after a ſhort ſecret Treaty, was purchaſed of the Count of *Fundi*, and he had twelve thouſand *Aurei* paid in Hand, upon his having promiſed to deliver that Caſtle and Port to *Benedict*, who no ſooner heard of that Bargain's being concluded, than he ſent a good Officer with ſome Soldiers, with all the Secrecy that was poſſible, to take Poſſeſſion of that Place, and to make it as ſtrong as it was capable of being made, againſt he came to it. But when that Officer arrived at *Civita-Vecha*, the Count of *Fundi* would not deliver the Place to him, pretending that by his Bargain he was to put it into the Hands of *Benedict* when he came to it, and not to deliver it to any body elſe, though ſent by him.

Benedict, having been thus defeated as to *Italy*, did caſt his Eye on his Native Country, and to create to himſelf a ſtrong Intereſt in it, he beſtowed the Kingdom of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, on the King of *Arragon*, and his Heirs

Heirs for ever. This great Donation was made to that King in Perſon in *Avignion*, to which City that King was invited by *Benedict*, and was ſplendidly entertained by him in it. The Place to which he intended to retreat, when he found *France* too hot for him, being fixed; that he might have ſome Cardinals to follow him thither, or where-ever he ſhould go, and which he knew the *French* Cardinals would never do; he created ſeven new Cardinals, and who were, I think, all but one of the *Spaniſh* Nation.

This new Creation of Cardinals, being a plain Sign that nothing was farther from *Benedict*'s Thoughts, than the Abdicating of the Papacy, the *French* reſented it accordingly, neither were they well pleaſed with his bringing Foreign Kings into the Heart of their Country, to beſtow Crowns upon them there.

The firſt that broke the Ice was *Benedict*'s great Averſion to the Univerſity of *Paris*; who ſent him word, that if he did not preſently, according to his Oath, abdicate the Papacy, they would ſubſtract their Obedience from him: he had the ſame Meſſage ſent him from all, or moſt of the *French* Cardinals, and laſt of all from the King himſelf. He returned the ſame Anſwer to them all, which was, *That being fully ſatisfy'd in his own Conſcience that he was the true Biſhop of* Rome, *he was to dye ſo.*

Upon

Upon this plain Dealing, *France* Subtracted her Obedience from him, Prohibiting all People under ſevere Penalties to look on him, or call him any longer Pope or Biſhop of *Rome*, and the King fearing *Benedict* might fly into *Arragon* upon this, he ordered ſome Troops to march forthwith to *Avignion* to ſeize upon him; *Benedict* when he heard of thoſe Troops marching toward him, had ſhut himſelf, and all the *Arragoneſes* he had about him, up in the Caſtle of that City, with an Intention to have held it out to the laſt Extremity. But his Strength not being anſwerable to his Courage, he was ſoon compelled to ſurrender upon Diſcretion, and being made a Priſoner, he was committed to the keeping of the Magiſtrates of that City, who did undertake to watch him ſo narrowly that he ſhould not make his Eſcape.

Benedict being thus laid aſide, the *French* King ſent *Peter de Aliaco*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, the moſt Learned Man in his Kingdom, and the moſt Active to extinguiſh the Schiſm, to ſpeak to *Boniface* to make the Ceſſion, which he had ſo often offered to make; but *Boniface*, as if he had forgot that he ever made any ſuch offer, told that Biſhop, that if the *French*, and other Princes did but diſown *Peter de Luna*, the Schiſm would be at an end, and there would be no need of making any Ceſſions.

Aliaco needed not have taken a long Journey to *Rome*, only to have had that Information, and I am very apt to think, that there was not any one thing that diſpoſed *France* more to return to *Benedict*'s Obedience again, than this Anſwer of *Boniface*'s, who appeared by it, to be one of the falſeſt of Men.

When the King of *Arragon* heard of his Friend *Benedict* being laid aſide, and kept a cloſe Priſoner in *Avignion*, he ſent Embaſſadors to comfort him, and to adviſe him to refer his whole Cauſe to the Arbitrement of the Princes that had adhered to him. *Benedict* at firſt was very ſtiff, and would not hear of doing it; but having been afterwards convinced that in his preſent bad Circumſtances, it was the wiſeſt Courſe he could take; he conſented to it, and did put his whole Cauſe entirely into the Hands of the King of *France*, and of the King of *Arragon*; and in caſe the *French* King died before any Sentence was paſſed, as it was likely he would, being at that time in a very languiſhing Condition; the Duke of *Orleance*, who was the beſt Friend *Benedict* had in the World, ſhould take his Place.

But unhappily for *Benedict*, the *French* King lived to agree with the King of *Arragon*, that the following Particulars ſhould be required of him. *Firſt*, That he ſhould abdicate the Papacy, whenever it was abdicated by

by *Boniface*. *Secondly*, That he ſhould never do any thing to retard the Union of the Church. *Thirdly*, That if a Council were called to extinguiſh the Schiſm he ſhould go to it, and conſent to all they required. *Fourthly*, That he ſhould not leave *Avignion* without the *French* King's Conſent. And that having promiſed all this upon Oath, he ſhould live in the Palace of that City, and have an hundred Perſons to wait on him, and who ſhould all take an Oath, not to adviſe him to violate any of thoſe Articles, nor to conſent to any of them being Violated.

When this Sentence was brought to *Avignion*, *Benedict*, though a Priſoner, complained grievouſly of the barbarous uſage he had met with, and of Secular Princes breaking through all Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Sanctions, to impoſe hard and unjuſt things upon him. And at laſt he declared, *That he would ſooner dye than leave ſuch a ſcandalous Stain upon his own old Age, and on the Honour of the Apoſtolical* See; as his ſubmitting to that Sentence muſt neceſſarily throw upon them. Neither would he ever have ſubmitted to it, if it had not been in order to the breaking of it, by making his eſcape out of *France*. Believing, that after he had tyed himſelf with an Oath in *Avignion*, he would not be watched ſo narrowly, but that he might get away; and on this ſingle Conſideration, he

gave his Conſent to all thoſe Articles, promiſing with an Oath to obſerve them all punctually; and ſo did all that were allowed to be about him, ſo far as they were concerned. But though *France* did not own *Benedict* by this, to be Pope, it having been expreſly ſaid in thoſe Articles, that the Subſtraction of her Obedience from *Benedict*, ſhould be no ways prejudiced by him, he had ſtill ſeveral great Friends in that Kingdom; namely the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Orleance*, who agreed in nothing elſe but this. And the Duke of *Anjou* having, by *Boniface*'s means, been chaſed out of *Italy*, he repaired to *Avignion*, and having there paid the Cuſtomary Venerations to *Benedict*, upon a Promiſe to help him, he received from him a new Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who were both hearty well wiſhers to *Benedict*, ſeeing the Adminiſtration of the Government of *France*, by reaſon of the King's Diſtemper, intirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Orleance*, entertained hopes of being able to fetch that Kingdom back again to *Benedict*'s Obedience; and having to that end, ſent Embaſſadors firſt to *Avignion*, for a freſh Promiſe from *Benedict* to abdicate the Papacy, when required to do it by a Council; with this new Promiſe, though it did not amount to ſo much as he had ſworn before, thoſe Embaſſadors

baſſadors went to *Paris*, where by the great Power of the Duke of *Orleance*, they eaſily obtained a Revocation of the Subſtraction of Obedience; and all *France* was upon certain Conditions, and which were I ſuppoſe the ſame with the forementioned Articles, ſtrictly commanded to look on *Benedict*, and to obey him as the true Biſhop of *Rome*. To which great change the Univerſity of *Paris* was obliged to ſubmit, much againſt its will, and ſo were all the *French* Cardinals and Biſhops, the inferior Clergy having in many Places deny'd Obedience to their Prelates, until they had united themſelves to *Benedict*, who they ſaid was the true Head of the Church.

Though *Benedict* was undoubtedly overjoyed at the Kingdom of *France*'s having thus returned to his Obedience; yet being kept ſtill under his former Confinement in *Avignion*, he was probably more uneaſy under it than he was before; to be kept as a Priſoner by *France*, now ſhe owned him to be Head of the Church, being a greater hardſhip upon him than it was, whilſt ſhe deny'd him not to be ſo. Not that he was always, after he was confined, ſo, uneaſy in *Avignion*, that could he have got away, his Oath would not have kept him there an Hour. To make his Eſcape being therefore his chief Buſineſs, he made it at laſt, by creeping in the Night-time through a Hole made by the Cardinal of *Prato*, in the Wall of our Lady-

Church, which joyns to the Palace, and having got to the River, he there met with a Boat, which a Monk by the Cardinal of *Pamplona*'s direction had ready for him; in which, being attended only by his Phyſician, and two or three *Spaniſh* Servants, he arrived ſafe at the Caſtle of *Reignold*, a ſtrong Fortreſs four Miles diſtant from *Avignion*, where he found the Cardinal of *Prato* with a good Body of Soldiers. The Day after he had lodged himſelf in that Caſtle, the Duke of *Anjou*, and three Cardinals went to him there. They ſeemed to be all much concerned at the Indignity of his having left *Avignion* ſo; and were very earneſt with him to return to that City. Among the Arguments they uſed to perſwade him to it, the chief was, *That by his having thus contrary to his Oath left* Avignion, *the* French, *deſpairing of ever being able to bring him to abdicate the Papacy, would certainly ſubſtract their Obedience from him again.* He was alſo earneſtly preſſed to it by ſome Deputies ſent out to him by that City, and by the Country which belongs to it. *Mezeray* ſaith, That having received great aſſurances of better Treatment, he went back to *Avignion*, and did reſide in it for ſometime. But in this that ingenious Writer was, I believe, miſtaken; the contrary being affirmed by thoſe who do write more largely concerning theſe Affairs; who tell us, That a deaf Ear was turned by *Benedict* to all Arguments

guments and Intreaties; and that instead of going back to *Avignion*, he went farther from it; having after a few Days removed from the Castle of *Reignold*, to the Bridge of *Sorge*, and from thence in a short time to *Carpenteras*, and from thence to the Castle of *Sello*, and at last to *Marseilles*, where he gave out, that he intended to go forthwith into *Italy* to confer with *Boniface*, in order to restore Peace and Unity to the Church. Whilst he was at *Marseilles* he was overtaken by the Learned *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, and who, though he was allowed to preach before him several times, and had divers Conferences with him, could gain no ground upon him. His Answer being still, that he did hope by an Interview with *Boniface*, he should be able to put an end to the Schism, to the Satisfaction of the whole Christian World.

However *Benedict* stood affected to that pretended Interview, *Boniface* had his hands too full of Business at this time, to be at leisure to attend it; who having helped *Ladislaus* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, did now labour hard to procure the Crown of *Hungary* for him; upon King *Sigismond* having been taken and imprisoned by his Subjects. And so when *Ladislaus* upon an Invitation from the Rebels, went to *Hungary*, *Boniface* sent a Cardinal Legate along with him, to assist him in his Councils, and to dispose all the

Hungarians to chooſe him for their King; and *Ladiſlaus* having ſucceeded in that Enterprize, he was crown'd King of *Hungary* by that Cardinal, in the City of *Raab*. And that he might bind that King, now he had made him ſo Great, the faſter to him, he did not only forgive him the Tribute that was due to the *Roman See* from the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which amounted to eighty hundred thouſand Florins; but did alſo, to the great prejudice of the Clergy, beſtow on him the Tenths in all his Kingdoms for three Years.

This great Revolution coſt poor *Hungary* very dear; for *Sigiſmond* having recovered his Liberty, entered it with a powerful Army, and did after great Slaughters and terrible Devaſtations of that whole Country, drive *Ladiſlaus* out of it. All which great Evils were by *Sigiſmond* laid at the Door of *Boniface* and his Cardinals; and to be revenged on them, he took into his own hands the Preſentations to all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. Neither was the unfortunate *Ladiſlaus* better pleaſed with *Boniface*, for having puſhed him into an Enterprize which had ended ſo ill; and ſo being returned to *Italy*, he diſtreſſed *Boniface* all that he was able, and did oftener than once endeavour to have taken the Government of *Rome* from the *Papal See*. And to gratifie the People of *Rome*, he did ſoon after *Boniface*'s Death, oblige his Succeſſor

to

to dismantle all the Citadels *Boniface* had built in that City, to have destroyed its Liberties.

Benedict, who was still at *Marseilles*, sent two Bishops and an Abbot to *Rome* to invite *Boniface* to an Interview; and having had a publick Audience granted presently, they acquainted *Boniface*, and the twelve Cardinals that were present with their Business. *Boniface* said, he would consider of it, and let them have his Answer in a few Days. He was as good as his word, for within a Week they were called by him into the Conclave, where he told them roundly, *That since he was undoubtedly the true Bishop of* Rome, *and* Peter de Luna *an Anti-Pope, it was below both his own High Dignity, and that of the Apostolical See to have an Interview with a Schismatick, as if there were some doubt of the Legitimacy of his Election. And that* Peter de Luna *if he did earnestly desire the Unity of the Church, as he pretended, must return into her Bosom as a Penitent, and bring back with him the third part of the Stars which were fallen by his means.*

With this Answer *Benedict*'s Deputies were so enraged, that they fell upon *Boniface* most unmercifully, and told him with great Boldness, what Thoughts the World had of him, for his scandalous Falshood and Prevarication. With this freedom *Boniface* was so much disordered, that in a fury he commanded them

to

to withdraw, and to leave *Rome* immediately. But they could not, it seems, make so much haste, as to have left that City before *Boniface*'s Soul left his Body, who died in great Agonies on the Second Day after he had receiv'd the mortal Wound of being turned inside out. And for which, the Deputies, as having been accessary to *Boniface*'s Death, were all three clapt up in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and were glad to pay down a good Sum of Money to the Governor to be set at Liberty.

On this Occasion the whole City was divided into two Parties, the one was against the choosing of a new Pope until the Schism was at an end; the other was for having one chose immediately; and both Parties having taken up Arms, they went to Blows, and had many Skirmishes, in which great Numbers were kill'd on both sides; but the Party that was for having a new Pope chosen, having prevailed in the end, the Cardinals, who were but twelve in Number, proceeded to an Election, and did choose the Cardinal *Cosmo Meliorate*, one of the twelve Electors, who took the Name of *Innocent*. He did with his Eleven Brethren take an Oath, That if he was chosen Pope, he would make a Cession of the Papacy, whenever *Peter de Luna* did the same. And being now Elected, he did before his Coronation take the same Oath.

Whe-

Whether *Innocent* when he took those Oaths, and acquainted all Princes with his Assumption, and with his being ready to Abdicate the Papacy if they would oblige *Benedict* to do the same, did ever intend to do that, we cannot certainly tell; but from his whole Conduct afterwards, we are certain, that it was the thing in the World that was the farthest from his Thoughts; and though he writ to *Benedict* and his Cardinals, he only Canted to them in general about restoring Peace and Unity to the Church, but said not a word of his being ready to Abdicate if *Benedict* would do it. And when *Benedict* sent Deputies to him to desire that they might have an Interview, he declined it after *Boniface*'s Example, and did give the very same Reason why he could not condescend to it. And to satisfy the World that all that he had Swore and Writ concerning the Abdicating of the Papacy, was mere Grimace, he created Eleven new Cardinals, of whom the Oath the old Cardinals were under was not required, which was, That they should do all that was in their power to oblige *Innocent* to Abdicate, when *Peter de Luna* could be brought to do it.

Innocent, by his thus appearing less inclinable to Abdicate than *Benedict*, did lose ground apace; the *Genoese* and *Pisans* who till now had adher'd stifly to the Pope that was in *Rome*, subtracted their Obedience from him;

him; and Cardinal *Fliſchi* deſerted him likewiſe, and join'd himſelf to *Benedict*; who upon this Encouragement went from *Marſeilles* to *Nice*, where having been met by the Prince of *Arragon*, and the Duke of *Anjou*, he brought them to agree to a Partition of the Kingdom of *Sicily*; that part of it which is on this ſide the *Pharus* being given by him to the Duke of *Anjou*, and the other to the Prince of *Arragon*, who did both promiſe to aſſiſt one another to make this Partition good. But the Man of all others *Benedict* depended on the moſt, was his Countryman *Vincent Ferrier*, a *Dominican* Friar, whom he carried with him from *Nice* to *Genoa*, where he was receiv'd by the whole City with great Expreſſions of Joy. This Friar's Name was very high for his Preaching, and other miraculous Talents. It was ſaid he had with Sermons converted many Thouſands of *Jews* and *Moriſco*'s in *Spain*; and that when he Preach'd in *Spaniſh*, he was underſtood by People of all Nations who did not otherwiſe underſtand one word of that Tongue. And as his Name was cried up much by the *Spaniards*, and by all that adher'd to *Benedict*, ſo he was a pretty loud Trumpeter of his own Praiſes: For in a Letter which he writ to his General, he tells with a *Gaſcoin* Air, *That he had been Preaching in* Dauphine, Savoy, *and in the three famous Valleys among the* Alps, *and had there Converted*

verted vaſt Multitudes of the Waldenſes *to the* Roman *Faith. And that among the reſt he had Converted a Biſhop of that Sect, who reſided in the Valley of* Luſeria.

Note, That this ancient Church among the *Alps*, which was never Corrupted nor Defiled by *Popery*, had Biſhops in it before the Reformation.

Benedict expected great feats in *Italy* from this Miracle working Preacher, imagining that none that believed the loud Fame of his Miracles, and which the *Roman* Church her ſelf has ſince believed ſo far, as to Canonize him for them, could doubt of the Legitimacy of his Election, being zealouſly preached up, as it was by that Friar; but whether it was, that the *Italians* don't ſwallow bold Reports of Miracles ſo eaſily as the *Spaniards*, or that *Vincent*'s Power of working them was confined to his own Country, or only to the Converſion of Infidels and Hereticks, certain it is, the Succeſs of his Preaching in *Italy*, did not anſwer *Benedict*'s Hopes, neither did that Friar's being continually at his Side, hinder him from being driven by the Peſtilence out of *Genoa* into *France*.

The *Romans* alſo were ſo angry with *Innocent*, for his Prevarication, that they took up Arms, and appointed Seven of their chief Citizens to Rule *Rome* as a Common-Wealth: And *Innocent*, for having violently oppoſed it, being driven out of the City by them, his

his Palace, as ſoon as he was out of it, was plundered by the People, who did tear and burn all the Regiſters, and other Papers belonging to the Papacy that they could lay their Hands on. The Thing that had thrown the People into this great Rage, was *Innocent*'s Nephew, whilſt there was a Treaty on Foot, about ſettling the Peace of the City, having drag'd Thirteen of the chief Citizens, among whom were Three of the Seven Governours, into his Palace, where he put them to Death, and afterwards threw their dead Bodies out of a Window into the Streets, in which they lay all Day expoſed to the View of the whole City.

Upon *Innocent*'s appearing highly diſpleaſed with his Nephew for that treacherous Butchery, but chiefly upon their finding *Ladiſlaus*, who had aſſiſted them to drive away *Innocent*, at work to make himſelf their Maſter; *Innocent* was invited to return, and which he did, and thundred out his Excommunications againſt *Ladiſlaus* for the Injuries he had done him; but the Preparations the Duke of *Anjou* was making to invade *Italy*, obliged *Innocent* to take off his Excommunications as ſoon as they were laid on, and to conclude a Peace with *Ladiſlaus*, though there was nothing of Friendſhip betwixt them; *Innocent* died ſoon after, ſome ſay of Poyſon, others ſay of old Age.

The Cardinals knowing, that if they did not chooſe a Pope preſently, they ſhould have ſtrong Applications made to them by moſt Chriſtian Princes not to do it, they forthwith proceeded to an Election, and choſe the Cardinal *Angelus Corrarius*, who took the Name of *Gregory*.

This Crafty *Venetian*, whilſt he was a Cardinal, had after *Peter de Luna*'s Example, ſtifly maintained, that there was no other way to put an end to the Schiſm, but by obliging both the contending Popes to abdicate; and having both before his Election, and at his Coronation, taken a ſolemn Oath to do it himſelf, his Zeal for it did after that, appear to be greater than it was before; for he did not only by Letters acquaint all Chriſtian Princes with his being ready to do it, when he acquainted them with his Aſſumption, but he alſo writ the ſame to *Benedict* and his Cardinals, and did add, that the known Legitimacy of his Election ſhould be ſo far from hindering him from abdicating the Papacy, to help the Church to Unity and Concord, that he would abdicate the ſooner for it, that he might offer the more acceptable Sacrifice to God; and in Diſcourſe he ſaid often, that to put an End to the preſent peſtiferous Schiſm, he would gladly go to the moſt diſtant Place on Foot, and through the greateſt Perils. And ſo well did he act this Farce, that the World, though it was grown weary

of

of giving any Credit to ſuch Oaths and Profeſſions, did now begin to hope that the Man was come at laſt, that would retrive the loſt Honour of the Papacy, and reſtore Unity to it.

But *Gregory* ſuffered not the World to lie long under this charitable Miſtake, for his Mask having fallen off quickly, he appeared more bare-faced againſt abdicating the Papacy, than any before him.

For after it had been with great Coſt and Trouble, ſetled betwixt *Benedict* and him, that they ſhould meet at *Saona*, and the Circumſtances of that Interview were minutely adjuſted, and the Day for it appointed, and on which Day *Benedict* came to the City; *Gregory* did ſtart ſo many Difficulties one after another againſt his going to that Place, as he had promiſed, that it was manifeſt to all the World, he had never intended it, but had treated about that Interview for no other end but to gain time, and to amuſe the World. For inſtead of going to *Saona*, he went to *Luca*, and threw himſelf entirely upon *Ladiſlaus*, who he knew was extreamly againſt that Interview, and every thing elſe which might probably end, in the coming to have a ſingle Pope; which he never deſired to ſee, knowing how troubleſome a Neighbour ſuch an one would be to him. For the Truth is, the ſuperſtitious Conceit of the Neceſſity of a Papacy, and of its extraordinary

traordinary Sanctity, and divine Power, had not run so low from the time that it was first exalted, as it did in all this Age, both with Princes and People.

Gregory's Cardinals being at him continually to go to *Saona* according to his Promise; to stop their Mouths he did, with a seeming great Seriousness tell them, that he was ready to abdicate the Papacy, without requiring *Benedict* to do it, provided he might enjoy the Dignity of Cardinal, with the Title of Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and might for his Life hold the Bishopricks of *Modena*, and *Corona*, and a Priory which he had before in *Commendam*; and that on one of his Nephews the City and Country of *Faventia*, and on a Second Nephew *Forolivium*, and on the Third *Urbs Vetus*, and *Cornetto*, might be confer'd to be held by them as Fiefs of the *Roman See*.

By this Stratagem, *Gregory* cooled his Cardinal's Zeal for his going to *Saona* to confer with *Benedict*, who they knew would grant him the Terms he had proposed; but they still continued earnest to have them both make a Cession, that a Third Person might be chosen. And no Man in the College appeared so zealous for that, as the Cardinal *Baltasar Cossa*, who upon substantial Grounds believed he should be the Man, as we shall see hereafter he was, before the End of this Schism. *Gregory* being thus teased by the

Cardinals, and who, if the *French* ſhould oblige *Benedict* to abdicate, he knew would force him to do the ſame; he intended to have created four new Cardinals, who he was ſure would ſtick to him; but this new Creation was ſo violently oppoſed by all the Cardinals, that *Gregory* was forced to adjourn it; but it was for a ſhort time, for he having ſoon after got a ſtrong Guard about his Perſon, he made that Creation: Neither durſt the old Cardinals oppoſe it, any otherwiſe than by taking an Oath among themſelves, that they would never give their Approbation to it. This Combination of the Cardinals was reſented ſo by *Gregory*, that it cauſed an open Rupture betwixt them. And as when they went to wait upon him, they were inſulted by his Guards; ſo having had certain Intelligence, that if they ſtayed any longer in *Luca*, they would all be made Priſoners, they ſtole out of that City, and being got ſafe to *Piſa*, they publiſhed a Proteſtation, and with it a Letter to all Chriſtian People, exhorting them to ſubſtract their Obedience from *Gregory*, who in Contradiction to his Profeſſions and Oaths, was every Day more and more harden'd againſt abdicating the Papacy. Neither did it fare any better with *Benedict* at this time, for notwithſtanding he had, accotding to his Promiſe, gone to *Saona*, to confer with *Gregory*; it was nevertheleſs ſo manifeſt, that the Affair of the In-

Interview, was on both Sides nothing but a Colluſion, that the *French* King did ſolemnly ſubſtract his Obedience from *Benedict* a ſecond time, prohibiting all his Subjects to look on him as Biſhop of *Rome* any longer.

Benedict, who was certainly one of the boldeſt and moſt reſolute Men alive, having had Notice of this before, he did by two Commiſſaries which he had ready at *Paris*, enter a Proteſtation againſt that Subſtraction, as againſt an unjuſt and ſchiſmatical Act. But having however been deſerted upon it by all or moſt of his Cardinals, he left *Italy*, and retired to *Arragon*, where he was kindly received; and his Cardinals, when they left him, having gone to *Piſa*, they joyned there with *Gregory*'s, and did all agree to hold a Council in that City, to reſtore the Church to Unity, and to reform her in her Head and Members; and which Council being aſſembled, there were preſent at it, Six and Twenty Cardinals, Eleven of which had adher'd to *Benedict*, and Fifteen to *Gregory*, Three Patriarchs, an Hundred and Eighty Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and Three Hundred Abbots, the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of *England*, and of *France* aſſiſted at it likewiſe. The Embaſſador of *England* was *Robert Allen*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who preached before that Council, taking for his Text thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Juſtice and Judgment are the Preparation of his Seat.* And on this

Occaſion, the King of *England* in his Letter to *Gregory*, exhorted him *to follow the Example of the true Mother, who contending before King* Solomon, *choſe to make a Ceſſion, rather than have her Son divided.*

The contending Popes were both cited by the Council, and neither of them having appeared, Proceſſes were formed againſt them both; and Schiſm and Perjury having been proved upon them, they were both depoſed, and the following Oath was formed, and taken by all the Cardinals before they went to an Election.

All we Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacon Cardinals, and every one of us ſingly here aſſembled in the City of Piſa, for the Extirpation of Schiſm, and to introduce Unity and a good State into the Church of GOD, *do on the Word of Truth, promiſe to GOD and to the* Roman Church, *and to the Holy Synod aſſembled here in the Name of Chriſt, that if any of us be choſen the chief* Roman Pontiff, *he ſhall continue the preſent Council, and ſhall neither diſſolve it, nor ſo far as in him lies ſuffer it to be diſſolv'd, until by its Advice a due, reaſonable, and ſufficient Reformation ſhall be made in that univerſal Church, and in its State, in the Head, as well as in the Members. And we do alſo promiſe, That if a Cardinal that is abſent, or one that is not of our College ſhall be choſen Pope; that before we make a Publication of his Ele-*

Election, we will with our whole Strength, truly, and bona Fide *procure the same Promise from him, with a sufficient Security that he shall observe and fulfil the same*, &c.

The Cardinals then proceeded to an Election, and chose the Cardinal *Peter Philargi*, a *Greek*, who took the Name of *Alexander*.

We must not think that *Gregory* and *Benedict* were doing nothing all this while, for *Gregory* having created Nine more new Cardinals, did, to confront the Council of *Pisa*, call a Council at *Aquileia*, to which he invited all Christian Princes, Prelates, and Communities. But when that Council was open'd, there were few Prelates at it besides *Neapolitans*, who joined with *Gregory* in Anathematizing the whole Council of *Pisa*, and *Peter de Luna*, and *Peter Philargi*, and all that adher'd to them. But *Gregory* being under strong Apprehensions that for having given this bold Blow, the Council of *Pisa*, which had most of the great Christian Princes on its Side, might have had him apprehended, he skulk'd about for some time in a Disguise, but appeared at last at *Ariminum*, whose Prince *Charles Malasteta*, was the only sure Friend he had left; where he offered to leave the Decision of his whole Cause to a Council he would call, and which should meet in any Place that *Rupert* King of the *Romans*, *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, and *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* should agree to

name. This was certainly the groſſeſt Trick that *Gregory*, or any Man elſe ever offered to put upon the World; thoſe three Kings being at that time all to pieces ſo, that it was not to be expected that they could be brought to treat about that, or any other Matter; or that if they did, they would ever have agreed on the ſame Place.

Benedict had likewiſe called a Council at *Perpignan*, at which were preſent Nine Cardinals, and an Hundred and Twenty *Spaniſh* Prelates, but this Council anathematiſed no Body, and did ſubmit to *Benedict* upon his having renewed his Promiſe to them to abdicate the Papacy, whenever his doing of it would put an End to the Schiſm; but we ſhall ſee hereafter how far he was from being as good as this Promiſe.

Alexander lived but ten Months after he was choſe, and did little more than excommunicate *Ladiſlaus*, and deprive him of his Kingdom, which he beſtowed on the Duke of *Anjou*, to whom *Benedict* had given it. It was this *Alexander* that uſed to ſay of himſelf, *That he was a rich Biſhop, a poor Cardinal, and a Beggar when he was Pope.*

Alexander being dead, the Cardinals went preſently to an Election, and choſe *Baltazar Coſſa*, who took the Name of *John*. He was one of a moſt profligate Life and Principles; and being exceedingly rich, and the Cardinals that choſe him very poor, the Lad-

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der by which he had aſcended the Pontifical Chair, was ſo viſible, that the Council of *Conſtance* did once reſolve to have puniſhed all his Electors as *Simonaicks*. It was no Wonder therefore that having bought the Papacy ſo dear, he was ſo unwilling to part with it, as we ſhall ſee he was. *John*, to reimburſe himſelf, created fourteen Cardinals preſently, and did beat up a *Croiſado* againſt King *Ladiſlaus*, promiſing to all that ſhould bear Arms in that Holy War, or that ſhould contribute Money towards the Charges of it, a Plenary Indulgeance of all their Sins. The Thing that made this *Croiſado* to look like a Trick to get Money, was, *John*'s having ſoon after ſtruck up a Peace with that King; in which Peace one Article was, *That the Duke of* Anjou *ſhould have no Right from the Papal See to the Kingdom of* Naples: Another Article was, *That* Gregory, *if he did abdicate the Papacy within three Months, ſhould, during his Life, be the Legate of* Marca d' Ancona, *and ſhould have forty thouſand* Aurei *paid to him yearly, and have all his three Nephews created Cardinals.* For *John* being ſenſible, that if *Gregory* and *Benedict* did not abdicate preſently, a Council would meet, that would lay aſide both him and them, and have a fourth Perſon choſen; he would have ſpared for no Coſt to have got them to have done it. But *Gregory*, though he was thrown off by *Ladiſlaus*, in conformity to the Peace which was betwixt

him and *John*, would not abdicate upon thoſe Terms, and ſo retir'd to *Ariminum*. And for *Benedict*, he was a Man of that Spirit that it would have been in vain to have made him any ſuch Offers, if he had been never ſo much diſtreſſed, which he was ſo far from being at this Time, that he made a greater Figure now in *Arragon*, than he had ever made at *Avignion*. The Occaſion was this; Don *Martin* King of *Arragon* died at this time, and having left no Children behind him, there were five Competitors for his Crown. The Firſt was the Count of *Urgel*; the Second the Count of *Luna*, whoſe baſe Blood had been legitimated by his Kinſman *Benedict*, ſo as to make him capable to ſucceed to the Crown of *Sicily*; the Third was the Duke of *Gandia*; the Fourth was the Prince of *Calabria*; the Laſt was Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Caſtile*. Theſe Princes being ſenſible that *Benedict* would have a great Stroke in the diſpoſing of the Crown, they all made their Court to him; and the States of the Realm having committed the Diſpoſition of it to nine Perſons, *Benedict* had got his famous Chaplain *Vincent Ferrier* to be one of the Nine, and a Brother of *Vincent's*, who was a Monk, to be another of them; and in all likelihood he had ſome Hand likewiſe in the Nomination of the other Seven.

Of all the Competitors *Benedict* favour'd the Infant Don *Ferdinand* the moſt, notwith-

withſtanding the Count *de Luna*, whom he had legitimated, was his own near Relation; but there was nothing ſo near akin to *Benedict*, or at leaſt there was nothing ſo near his Heart as the Papacy; he therefore preferred Don *Ferdinand* to him, and to all the reſt; who, beſides that he was a very brave Prince, was Governour of *Caſtile* during his Nephew's Minority, who was but a Child, and was ſo well beloved in that Kingdom, that the Crown of it was offered to him by the *Grandees*, to the Excluſion of his Nephew, but he had refuſed to take it. This was a Prince, who being King of *Arragon*, would be likely to afford *Benedict* the Support that he wanted. And accordingly the Crown of *Arragon* was given to Don *Ferdinand*. And when ſome complained of the Injury that was done to the Count of *Urgel*, *Benedict* endeavoured to ſtop their Mouths with that Law of the *Goths*, *which prohibited all upon the Death of the King to uſurp the Crown, or to procure it for themſelves by Arms in a tyrannical manner.* But this not having been enough to ſtop Peoples Mouths, namely, the Count of *Urgel*'s Mother, who cry'd ſhame on the Deputies for the Injury they had done her Son: Friar *Vincent* mounted the Pulpit, and with a vehement Declamation, maintained the Juſtice of the Sentence of the Nine Judges, extolling *Ferdinand* ſo high above the other Four that were his Competitors, as if they had

had not deſerved on that, or on any other Occaſion, to have been named with him.

Sigiſmund King of the *Romans* having ſet his Heart extreamly on the Extirpation of the Schiſm, he obliged *John*, much againſt his Will, to call a Council at *Conſtance*, and to be preſent at it himſelf, as that King himſelf was likewiſe. Of the Acts of that Council, and of *John*'s true Papal Behaviour in it, I have ſaid ſo much in my *Preface* to Doctor *Vargus*'s Letters, that I ſhall here only mention, That by that Council *John* was conſtrained to abdicate the Papacy, as *Gregory* did alſo by a Procurator; but for *Benedict*, he could never be prevailed with to do it. But being laid aſide by all Princes and States, he retired to a ſtrong Caſtle which he had on the Sea-Coaſt of *Valentia*, where he lived privately ſeveral Years, but reverenced as Pope by all that were about him, or that he would ſuffer to come near him. And having only two Cardinals that adher'd to him to the laſt, he made them promiſe him to chooſe a new Biſhop of *Rome* as ſoon as the Breath was out of his Body; and when he was ſpeechleſs, being jealous that they would be afraid to do it, he made a Sign to have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and in Writing, enjoin'd them under the Penalty of an eternal Curſe, for to make that Election. He died in the Ninetieth Year of his Age, the *Spaniards* ſay of Poyſon, given him by one

Thomas

Thomas a Monk, who was employ'd by the Cardinal of *Piſa*; and in the Thirtieth Year after he was choſen Pope. He was certainly one of the greateſt Examples of a Firmneſs of Mind that was not to be ſhaken, that any Age has produced.

The two Cardinals, according to the Promiſe they had made to *Benedict*, went to an Election, and choſe one *Ægidius*, a Canon of *Barcelona*; who took the Name of *Clement*; and being acknowledged Pope by the King of *Arragon*, upon a Quarrel betwixt that King and Pope *Martin*, he created ſeveral Cardinals, but at the end of five Years he abdicated the Papacy, and was made Biſhop of *Miorca*, and to maintain the Honour of *Benedict*, and his own Title to the Papacy, his Cardinals, by his Order, did chooſe *Peter Columna*, who had been choſen Pope many Years before by the Council of *Conſtance*. This Abdication, which did put an End to the Schiſm that began in the Year 1378, was made in the Year 1429, ſo that it laſted ſomething above fifty Years.

One thing I have obſerved of this Schiſm; which is, That the Arts of Diſſimulation and Tricking were perhaps never improved to that Height, nor as it were canonized ſo, as they were by the contending Popes; and that in that vile reſpect, *Europe* was long the worſe for it, if it be not ſo ſtill; but eſpecially the Court of *Rome*, which before did uſe

to

to carry things by Confidence, and groſs pious Frauds, more than by dark Intrigues and profound Policy, of which that Court has been ever ſince the great Academy.

The Four and Twentieth Schiſm in the *Roman See*, was betwixt *Felix* and *Eugenius*.

Pope *Eugenius* having been depoſed by the Council of *Baſil*, in the Year 1439, for violating the Conſtitution of the Council of *Conſtance*, aſſerting the Supream Authority of General Councils, and appointing that they ſhould frequently aſſemble to reform the Church both in its Head and Members; *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who was eſteemed the wiſeſt, and moſt pious Prince of that Age, was choſen Biſhop of *Rome* by that Council; he took the Name of *Felix*, and was crowned Pope at *Baſil* with great Solemnity.

By ſome he is ſaid to have been at firſt acknowledged by the *French*, who it is certain were, and to this Day are, generally Friends to the Council that choſe him, and to the Grounds on which his Election ſtood. But however that was, he was certainly owned by the King of *Arragon*, and by the Queen of *Hungary*, and by the Duke of *Bavaria*: And a Diet of the Empire having met ſoon after his Election at *Frankfort*, *Felix* ſent three Cardinals to it, the chief of which was *Panormitan*, whom he had created a Cardinal, and who was the moſt eminent Lawyer

Lawyer of his Age. He did demonſtrate to the Diet, That according to the Conſtitutions of the Council of *Conſtance*, *Felix* had an indubitable Title to the *Roman See*, as it is very plain he had. *Eugenius* had likewiſe his Nuncio's at that Diet, and who having been heard the Empire came to a Reſolution to continue in a Neutrality, as to theſe Two contending Popes, until a general Council ſhould meet to decide the Controverſie that was betwixt them. In conformity to which Reſolution, the Emperor ſent Embaſſadors, both to *Felix* and to *Eugenius*, to perſwade them to the Calling of a new indubitable general Council. *Eugenius*'s Anſwer to theſe Embaſſadors was, that he wondred what the *Germans* meant, by deſiring to have a General Council, when there was one ſitting at that Time in the *Lateran*, to which Church *Eugenius* had a little before tranſlated his Council from *Florence*; of which Council, and of *Eugenius*'s true Papal Behaviour, and Pretences in it, I have ſpoke at large in the foremention'd Preface.

The Emperor, ſoon after that Diet was up, being in the Neighbourhood of *Baſil*, he was invited by *Felix*, and the Council to that City; but he refuſed to go, unleſs they firſt promiſed to have a new Council called, to put an End to the preſent Schiſm. The Council told him that could not be, ſince if they were once diſſolved, another General Council

cil could not be called, upon the Authority of the Synod of *Conſtance*, until ten Years after: But that to gratify him, they would conſent to the Tranſlating of the Council from *Baſil*, to any other City that he ſhould name. The Emperor being ſatisfied with this Promiſe went to *Baſil*, where he viſited *Felix*, and excuſed his not paying him the cuſtomary Reverences, upon the Neutrality the Empire was in.

Felix, not being able to perſwade the Emperor to declare for him, did, to hold faſt the King of *Arragon*, offer to confirm the firſt Adoption of *Jone* Queen of *Naples*, and with it his Title to the Crown of that Kingdom; and to pay him two hundred and twenty thouſand *Aurei*, towards the recovering of the Patrimony of the Church: But he was out-bid by *Eugenius*, who to draw that Prince from *Felix*, who he knew was his chief Support, did not only beſtow on him an ample Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and remit a great Debt which was due from it to the *Roman See*; but he did alſo legitimate *Ferdinand*, the natural Son of *Alfonſo*, declaring him and his Heirs capable of ſucceeding to the Crown of *Sicily*. This Legitimation was made in a ſecret Article, and which *Alfonſo* promiſed not to make publick until after *Eugenius*'s Death; for in Contradiction to this ſecret Article, it was ſaid expreſly in the Inſtrument of the Inveſtiture, that

that in caſe *Alfonſo* died without lawful Heirs of his Body, the Kingdom of *Sicily* ſhould return to the Papal *See*. Thus *Eugenius* ſacrificed his Memory after his Death, to the Service of his Intereſt whilſt he was alive; ſo that whether he or *Felix* had the true Title to the Papacy, he was certainly the truer Pope of the Two.

But *Eugenius*, when he met with *Alfonſo*, did meet with his Match; for that Prince, after he had the Kingdom of *Sicily* ſettled thus on him and his Heirs, revived the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy of that Crown ſo, that he left the Pope little or no Authority in that Kingdom. Againſt this *Sicilian* Supremacy, *Baronius* has writ a Book with the ſame Popiſh Vehemence, that *Bellarmine* and *Suarez* have writ againſt the Supremacy in *England*.

In the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth, the Geſts of this *Sicilian* Supremacy, through ſeveral Ages, were collected by divers eminent Divines and Lawyers, and who atteſted their being genuin by a Subſcription of all their Names to them ſeverally; Three, or at moſt Four of thoſe Original Manuſcripts, and which are huge Volumes in Folio, with all thoſe Subſcriptions to them, having been written to be laid up in *Sicily* and *Spain*, for the ſecuring of that Supremacy; one of thoſe three or four Original Manuſcripts, is now in the Poſſeſſion of the Learned Doctor *Moor*, the

the Preſent Biſhop of *Ely*; by whom the greateſt, and the moſt curious Collection of Books in all Languages, and in all ſorts of Learning has been made, that was ever made by any Man in *England*: If there was ever the like made by one ſingle Man any where elſe; and for the uſe of the Publick, that noble Treaſure could not have light into better Hands; its Doors being conſtantly open, to all that have the Curioſity to ſearch after the Things old and new, wherewith it abounds.

Alfonſo, having thus deſerted *Felix*, he commanded all that were at *Baſil*, who had any Preferments within his Dominions, to leave that Place, and to Subſtract their Obedience from *Felix*, and ſubmit themſelves to *Eugenius*, as to the true Biſhop of *Rome*: By this Command, *Felix* and the Council were deſerted by many Prelates, namely by three Cardinals of his own Creation, and of which the great *Panormitan* was one, and who was a greater Loſs to *Felix* than half of the Council beſides would have been; divers of the Books of that Learned Lawyer are publiſhed, but that which he writ in Defence of the Council of *Baſil*, and of *Felix*'s Election, has I believe undergone the common Fate of all Books, which contained any thing that was prejudicial to the Papal Supremacy, when the Popes have been able to come at them to deſtroy them. *Felix* was alſo left by his

Secre-

Secretary *Æneas Sylvius*, who having gone to be Secretary to the Emperor, he was the chief Inſtrument of ſetting him and all *Germany* againſt his old Maſter; for having been gained by *Eugenius*, when he carried a Meſſage to him from a Diet of the Empire, he did, Renegado like, turn a moſt violent Enemy to his old Maſter, and the Council of *Baſil*, in which he had for ſome Years been the fierceſt Man againſt *Eugenius*. So that if it was this *Æneas*, as I think it was, that ſaid, *The Council, which had no Biſhopricks in its Gift, would never be able to contend long with* Eugenius, *who had ſo many in his*, no Man verified that Prediction more viſibly than he did, who for having deſerted his Party, and turned a Zealot againſt it, was firſt created a Cardinal, and afterwards choſen Pope; and had the World but a true Narrative of all the vile Arts and Methods, which the Popes through many Ages have made uſe of to get themſelves choſen, it would be the blackeſt Part in an univerſal Hiſtory. Not that *Felix* himſelf was not ſomething to blame for his being deſerted thus, who, though he was full of Money, did plainly ſtarve his Cauſe; his Anſwer to thoſe who were for putting him on any great Expence, being conſtantly, *I have a numerous Iſſue, and I will not leave them Beggars.*

I am miſtaken, if I have not read ſomewhere, that it was believed by the moſt In-

telligent, that this Duke had turned Hermit, and which he was when he was choſen by the Council, and that *Charles* the Fifth did reſign all his Dominions, and retired to a Monaſtery, for no other end but to put themſelves in a fair way to be elected Pope, and that the thing they both aimed at in ſeeking after that Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, was to have brought all the Papal Territories into their own Families, and made them all Hereditary in them. But whether there was any grounds for this Conjecture I ſhall leave to the Enquiry of Stateſmen, who by Princes Actions are able to penetrate into their darkeſt Deſigns in them.

But as great Aſſemblies do ſeldom, whilſt they are in Being, ſuffer thoſe they have raiſed to the Head of Government, to be long very eaſy; ſo *Felix* having met with ſeveral Diſguſts from the Council, he left *Baſil*, and went to reſide at *Lauſane*, a City in *Switzerland*; and having there attained a Licenſe from the Council to create Five more new Cardinals, he created ſo many, but did publiſh only two, and one of them having been the Biſhop of *Uiſeu*, makes me think the Kingdom of *Portugal* did adhere to *Felix* at that time. After *Felix* had reſided ſome Months at *Lauſane*, he was invited by the Council to return to them, but he deſired to be excuſed, pretending that many waited on him there who would not come to him at *Baſil*. *Euge-*

Eugenius the Fourth having died in the Year 1447, his Cardinals proceeded to an Election, and chose *Thomas Sarazana* an *Italian*, who took the Name of *Nicholas*.

This *Thomas* is said to have done all that was in his Power, to have kept the Cardinals from choosing him, but since they would do it, he deny'd himself so far as to accept of their Kindness; neither could *Sarazana*, believing the Emperor's Dream to be a Heavenly Vision, be hindred by the most stubborn Humility from the accepting of that Honour, the Emperor on the Night Pope *Eugenius* died at *Rome*, having seen him in a Dream at *Vienna*, take off his Pontifical Robes, and put them on *Sarazana*: who having been thus cloathed in those Robes, with Pope *Eugenius*'s own Hands, must have been a very ill Man, if he had been cloathed so with Humility, as not to have wore them; and who if he was really so humble, as to have an utter Aversion for all Dignities, was certainly the unhappiest Man alive; for in one Year he had three great Mortifications, of the being made a Bishop, a Cardinal, and last of all Pope. The Thing that mounted this humble Man so fast, notwithstanding his having strove so much against it, was his having been the chief Instrument in drawing *Germany* out of its Neutrality to submit to *Eugenius*.

The *Germans*, *English* and *French*, upon *Nicholas*'s Election joyned together, to per-

ſwade *Felix* to abdicate, and accordingly Embaſſadors were ſent from all thoſe Nations to *Lauſane*, where the Council was, and to *Geneva*, where *Felix* then reſided, for on *Felix*'s not having gone to *Baſil*, and the Plagues being in it, the Council had left that City, and come to him at *Lauſane*, which is but a little way from *Geneva*; after a ſhort Treaty, *Felix*, with the conſent of his Council, did offer to make a Ceſſion of the Papacy on the following Conditions.

Firſt, That having made that Ceſſion, he ſhould be Biſhop of *Sabinum*, and the firſt Cardinal in the College.

Secondly, That he ſhould till his Death wear the Pontifical Robes, but he was not to have the Sacrament carried before him, nor to uſe the Ring of the Fiſher-Man, nor to have the Croſs upon his Foot, nor to have the Canopy carried over him.

Thirdly, He was, during Life, to be the Apoſtolical Legate in all the Dominions of *Savoy*, and was in all Places to uſe the Legatine Enſigns.

Fourthly, That he ſhould be under no Obligation to go to the Court of *Rome*, nor to any Council.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, That if he viſited the Pope, the Pope ſhould riſe up to him, and admit him to kiſs his Mouth.

The Council did alſo conſent to diſſolve its ſelf, on the following Terms.

Firſt, That all Promotions, Elections, Confirmations, Proviſions, &c. which had been made by *Felix*, and by the Council at *Baſil*, or at *Lauſane*, ſhall be approved, confirmed and ratified by the Pope, and the College of Cardinals.

Secondly, That all who have been deprived by *Eugenius*, for adhering to *Felix*, or the Council, ſhall be fully reſtored.

Thirdly, That the Cardinal of *Arles*, who was deprived by *Eugenius* ſhall be reſtored, and the Cardinals which have been created by *Felix*, ſhall be received into the College of Cardinals.

Laſtly, That all that had been ſaid or written odiouſly againſt *Felix*, and the Council, and thoſe who adhered to them ſhall be declared null, and void, and ſhall be taken out of *Eugenius*'s Regiſters, and out of all other Places, to be aboliſhed.

To all which Articles Pope *Nicholas* having agreed, *Felix* made a Ceſſion of the Pa-

pacy, and the Council diſſolved its ſelf with the Honour of having had *Felix*, by his Adverſary, ſuppoſed to have been the true Pope, and by having moſt of its Acts allowed by him.

But though a free Council, ſuch as this of *Baſil* was, on the Foot of the Conſtitution of the Council of *Conſtance*, was a thing the *Italian* Popes had reſolved to aboliſh, yet *Nicholas* did not care, if after the Example of the Synagogue, he gave this Council an honourable Burial; but he, and his Succeſſors have ever ſince, and moſt of them in Contradiction to an Oath, which they had took before they were choſen Pope, made it one of their chief Cares, to keep ſuch Councils from riſing any more; for the Councils of the *Lateran*, and of *Trent*, which have been ſince, were viſibly the Popes Councils under whom they were in a perfect Bondage, and not free Councils of the Church.

To conclude, can any read this Treatiſe, and believe the Facts related in it, among which, I don't know that there is one that has not a good Authority for its Truth, and not ſtand amazed at the Fore-heads of the Men, who, though they know all theſe things to be true, yet will have the Certainty of the Papal Succeſſion to be the great Foundation of the Chriſtian Church: And if this be not to take the Church off the Rock, on which Chriſt built it, to build it on a looſe Sand,

Sand, Senſe, Reaſon and Experience, muſt have no Credit given to their Teſtimonies any longer; for one may ſafely challenge all the hardy Champions of the Papacy, to produce ſuch a long Liſt of Schiſms as this, in any other Patriarchal or Epiſcopal *See*, or to ſhew where there have been one half of the Uncertainties, as to who was its true Biſhop, in any other Biſhoprick, as we ſee there has been in the *Roman*.

It was Saint *John*'s, in the Spirit of Prophecy, ſeeing the Apoſtate *Roman* Church, with an high Hand, and a ſhameleſs Forehead, thus bearing down the Teſtimonies of the Holy Scriptures, and of common Senſe, Reaſon and Experience, that made him cry out, *And when I ſaw her, I wondered with great Admiration.*

And who, ſeeing it now in Fact, can forbear Wondring at it in the ſame manner; and Lamenting, to ſee the Truth and Stability of the Chriſtian Faith, which has the Word of God for its Foundation, thus ſacrificed to the Intereſts of Popery, which to make its ſelf great and neceſſary, takes that Holy Faith off that Rock on which Chriſt built it, to ſet it on a Succeſſion, which is naturally uncertain, and viſibly broken in above twenty Places, and probably in many more; for if that Conſtitution of Pope *Julius*'s be in Force, which voids all Papal Elections, in which any thing has been given

or promiſed to any of the Electors, it will not be eaſy for one, that has obſerved the Courſe of thoſe Elections, to believe, that there has been a Biſhop in the *Roman See* ſince that Conſtitution was made, and which was above two hundred Years ago; or that there is any likelihood, that there ever will be a Biſhop in it, until either the Cardinals are much changed from what they have been for ſome Ages, or the Papacy is become a leſs conſiderable Preferment.

Neither is it by her Schiſms only, that the *Roman See* has made *Europe* a Scene of Blood and Confuſion ſo often; but to exalt herſelf, ſhe has been above ſix hundred Years Embroyling it continually. And the Truth is, the bold Claim which that *See* has put in to an univerſal Monarchy, directly over the whole Catholick Church; and indirectly over the whole World; is naturally, and has been in fact, the moſt fertile Seed-plot of Wars, Fightings and Tragical Contentions, that ever was laid on Earth by humane Ambition. So that until either the Papacy drops that Claim, and which it is not like to do; or all Churches and Princes ſhall put their Necks under its Yoke, and to which many of them are reſolved never to ſubmit, upon any Terms; it cannot be otherwiſe, but that there muſt be continually ſuch direful Strugglings and Diſturbances, as *Europe* has felt from it for ſome Ages. In the Popes depoſing of Emperors,

perors, and other Sovereigns, and trampling on their Crowns and Necks; and in abſolving Princes from the Faith of publick Treaties, and the Oaths which they have taken to their Subjects; and in abſolving Subjects likewiſe from their Allegiance to their Natural Lords; and in plotting and fomenting Treaſons, Rebellions, Aſſaſſinations and Maſſacres, Applauding, if not Canonizing, the Authors of them; and in a Word, by continually Practiſing all the vile Arts and Methods, which a black Policy has been able to ſuggeſt to a boundleſs and reſtleſs Ambition. In ſo much, that were the Wars, Maſſacres, Aſſaſſinations, and publick Confuſions, which have ever been in the World, merely on the Account of Religion, all put together, they would not amount to the hundredth Part of thoſe the Papacy has been the Author of in *Europe*, in the ſpace of ſix hundred Years. So that of *Right* let the *Roman See* be what ſhe will, in Fact ſhe has been undoubtedly the greateſt, the moſt laſting, and the moſt indefatigable Incendiary, and Diſturber of its Peace the World was ever plagu'd withal. And of its Right I ſhall not here ſay any thing more, than what I think I have proved in another Place; that it is the moſt Chimerical and Fantaſtical, that did ever give the World any Diſquiet.

The End of the Fourth Tract.

A

VIEW

Of all the Orders of

Monks and *Friars*

IN THE

Roman Church.

WITH

An Account of their FOUNDERS, sufficient to help any one to form a Right Idea of the Men, or of the Writers of their Lives.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

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THE

PREFACE.

ALL that I shall say here, of the following Accounts of the Founders of all the Orders of Monks and Fryars in the Roman Church, *is, That they are taken from their greatest Friends and Admirers; and that, if they be true, they do make those Founders to have been a very strange sort of People; and that if they are not, the World has been long shamefully abused, into an high Opinion of those Men, by false Stories of them, and which I do take to be their Case. For it is very plain, That after the Example of the Writers of Romances, the Writers of the Lives of the Popish Saints, do say every thing that they think will raise the Characters of their Heroes, not being at all concern'd whether what they say of them were done by them or not: And he who is so happy as to say a great thing of his Saint, that was never said of any Saint before, reckons he has touched Heaven with his Finger, and to the roaving after such Singularities, in their Festival Sermons, as well as in their Legends, the most monstrous Stories, that ever were invented, do owe their Birth; as the Reader will see in some of the following Accounts; which might all have been made much larger, if I would have used*

uſed all the Stuff that belongs to them. But I doubt the having made ſome of them ſo long, will need an Apology, more than ſome of them then being ſo very ſhort. As to the Monaſtick Orders, tho' I will not, by reaſon of the various ſmall Shreds there are of ſeveral of them, only in particular Places, ſay that I have named them all; yet none of them that are any-wiſe conſiderable, have, I believe, eſcaped me; nor any thing in any of them that is very remarkable. But in caſe this View ſhould not be thought large enough, it may, I hope, excite ſome that think it is not, to give the World a larger View of them, which I ſhould be very glad to ſee. For it is very plain, That the Tyranny of the Papacy, and all the Popiſh Corruptions of the Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip, do owe both their Riſe and their Support chiefly to the Monaſticks, and to the ill Uſe, they, through ſeveral Ages, have made of the Legends of their Founders, and of others that belonged to them; and of the Miracles they pretended were wrought in Monaſteries by their Images and Reliques, to the creating of ſuch a monſtrous Chaos of Superſtition, as was never no where elſe in the World.

A View of all the Orders OF Monks and Friars IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

With an Account of their *Founders*, &c.

ALL, or moſt of the Firſt Monks, having been Men that ſpent moſt of their time in Deſarts, in the Divine Exerciſes of Contemplation and Devotion; the World came quickly to have a wonderful Veneration for them, looking on them as Heavenly-minded Men, that did approach very near to the Perfection of Angels. By means of which great Veneration, it was, that quick-ſighted Pride and Ambition, did quickly begin to ſee their Accounts more in that courſe of Life, than in any other, and ſo Multitudes came to be led into the Deſarts, to take that Profeſſion upon them, by Views

Views quite contrary to theirs, by whom that Profeſſion's Credit had been raiſed ſo high; and who did in time, by their great Numbers, refined Pride, keen Tempers, and the Power their Profeſſion helped them to over the Spirits of the People; grow ſo Factious and Turbulent, as to give both the Church and State great Diſturbances: Many of thoſe Monks being repreſented by *Gregory Nazianzen*, as Crews of Ruffians or Bandities, rather than any thing elſe.

The Firſt that advanced the Credit of Monkery in the *Weſt*, was St. *Jerom*, who tho' a very Learned and Good Man, yet having ſome Paſſions the World had not taken care to gratifie, he grew angry with it, and having retired into the *Eaſt*, did turn a Monk there: And to be revenged on the unjuſt World, he made, as if it were ſcarce poſſible for any to be ſaved without Renouncing it, ſo far as to turn Monk.

But tho' Monkery had its Way paved for it into the *Weſt* by St. *Jerom*, it was many Years after his Death, before any Order of Monks was inſtituted in it.

Benedict, who lived above 100 Years after St. *Jerom*, being reckoned the Father of the Monkiſh Order in the *Weſtern* Parts; and tho' it does not appear that *Benedict* did form any Order of Monks with the three Vows, yet ſince the oldeſt Monkiſh Order in the *Roman* Church is called by his Name,

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I ſhall firſt give a ſhort Account of him, and of that Order; in which, and in all the reſt, the Reader may believe as much, or as little, as he ſhall ſee cauſe.

Benedict was born near *Rome*, about the Year 480. and having whilſt he was a Boy, grown weary of the World, he went to the Deſart of *Subalca* in *Italy*, where he was lodg'd by a Monk, whoſe Name was *Romon*, in the Cleft of a Rock, that was of a very difficult Acceſs. *Romon* bringing to him all the Victuals that he could ſteal or ſpare out of his Belly. But *Romon* having forgot to carry him any on *Eaſter-Eve*, a Prieſt that was providing Victuals for himſelf againſt that Feaſt, was by a Voice from Heaven bid, *Not to take ſo much care of his own Gut, but to carry that he had provided to the place where* Benedict *was*. The Prieſt did ſo, and did both give *Benedict* his Victuals, and tell him, That it was *Eaſter-day*, which *Benedict* did not know before. And having been afterwards forced, by Hunger it is like, to creep out of his Cleft; ſome Shepherds ſeeing a Creature among the Buſhes covered with Beaſts Hair, they were much affrighted, taking it to have been ſome ſtrange and ſavage Monſter; but having at laſt ſeen *Benedict*'s Face, they took heart and went up to him; and having been much edify'd by his Diſcourſe, they acquainted the Neighbourhood with what they had ſeen; and who ha-

ving all flock'd to him, he was ſupply'd by them with all Neceſſaries, for which *Benedict* paid them well with godly Exhortations. One Day the Devil appeared to *Benedict* in the Shape of a little Black-bird, and came ſo near his Mouth, that *Benedict* might have caught him, but inſtead of doing that, he croſſed his Mouth, and the Black-bird flew away, but did leave behind him ſo terrible a diſhoneſt Carnal Temptation, that *Benedict* never had the like before, nor after; for he was, by its means, for ſome time in a Quandary, whether it would not be beſt for him to go back to the World again; but having returned to himſelf, he threw off all his Cloaths, and did rowl among Thorns and Briars, until he had rowl'd all his Skin off; ſo his great Pain did drive away the Temptation. After his Name was high all over the Country for his Auſterities, he was deſired by ſome Monks that lived in the ſame Deſart to come and live with them, and be their Prelate; he told them, *He would have nothing to do with them, for he knew them to be a looſe Crew*; but they would not be deny'd, ſo he went with them. But it was not long before they were ſo weary of his ſtrict Government, that they had conſpired to poyſon him; and having given him Poyſon in a Cup, the Cup broke before it had touched his Lips; ſo he left them and returned to his Cleft again, telling them at parting, *They were the wicked*

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Crew he took them to be. The whole Country flock'd to him ſo, and brought ſuch great Offerings, that in a ſhort time he had built twelve Monaſteries. After this a certain Prieſt, whoſe Name was *Florentino*, did begin to perſecute him after a moſt outragious manner; asking the People that went after him, *Where are you going, ye Company of Fools? What is that Monk more than another Man?* And, *Whether they did not know that there were many Hypocrites in the World, who by a Counterfeit Sanctity ſought to propagate Errors which they had broached.* And not ſatisfy'd with this, *Florentino* ſent him a Loaf that was poyſon'd, for a Preſent. But whereas *Benedict* had a *Raven* that came to him conſtantly every Day, and did eat out of his Hand, and whom he always called *Brother*; ſo having offered his Brother that Loaf, he refus'd to take it, and flew Croaking about him. *Benedict* ſaid, *Brother, I did not offer you this Loaf, that you ſhould eat it, but that you might carry it, and hide it ſome where, that it may never do any hurt.* His Brother did ſo, and being return'd had his Dinner according to Cuſtom. *Florentino*, notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, did not give over perſecuting of *Benedict*; and having got together a great Number of common Strumpets, they were ſent by him to dance Naked about the place where *Benedict* was; they did ſo, and to *Florentino*'s great Joy,

made *Benedict* leave it; but that Joy lasted not long, for soon after *Florentino*'s House fell down upon him, and killed him. *Benedict* was extreamly troubled when he heard of his Death; it was not for his having died in so ill a State; but, he said, it was, *Because he had lost an Enemy, who if he had lived, would have increased his Merits much.* And having, after this great Loss, been informed, That on the Mountain of *Cassino*, *Apollo* had still a Temple, and was worshipped in it with Sacrifices; he went with his Brethren and pulled it down to the Ground, and did set fire to all the Groves that were about it, and having built a Monastery in the same Place, he converted all that Country to Christianity:

The Devil being very angry with *Benedict*, for having taken that Mountain from him, called, *Benedict*, *Benedict*, as if he would speak with him; but *Benedict* knowing who he was, vouchsafed him no Answer; so the Devil left him, crying out, *Maledict*, *Maledict*, *what have you to do with me? Why do you persecute me so much?* And having thrown down a Wall that was building, a Boy was killed by the fall of it, but who was soon restored to Life again by *Benedict*. Brother *Placido* had been drowned, if Brother *Mauro* had not been sent by *Benedict* to draw him out of the River. There was a heavy stir about who had been the Author of that Miracle; *Bene-*

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dict attributing it to *Mauro*'s Merits; and *Mauro* to *Benedict*'s. Such Adventures of *Benedict*'s are endleſs; and believing that the Reader and I are pretty well agreed, that here are enough of them, I ſhall add no more.

The Order called the *Benedictine*, as it is the Oldeſt, ſo it is the Richeſt Order in the *Roman* Church. It was above 300 Years ago ſaid to have had 15000 Houſes, and if it had ſo many then, it muſt now have a great many more. Its Monaſteries have all certain Rents ſettled upon them, ſufficient to maintain their Monks, and which are, in ſome of them very numerous, and they do in none of them look as if they were Starved. Their Habit is all Black; in imitation it is like of that of the *Raven*, who was *Benedict*'s firſt Brother; and the Leather-Belt which they wear, is believed to have ſo much Vertue in it, that it is kiſſed upon the Knee by all that Viſit them, if they would be well received.

The Second Order of Monks, and which did with all the reſt ariſe out of Relaxations of the *Benedictine*, is that of *Cluny* in *France*, which was Inſtituted about the Year 900, by Abbot *Odo*.

This Order differs but very little from the *Benedictine*, either as to its Rule, or as to its Habit; and their Founders do differ ſo little one from another, that I ſhall be the ſhorter

upon *Odo*; who when he was a Boy, being much delighted with *Virgil*, he was cured of that dangerous Appetite by a Veſſel which was very Curious being ſhewed to him, but which was within full of deadly Serpents; and leaſt *Odo* ſhould by his great Fondneſs for *Virgil* have been hindred from applying that Viſion right, the Application was made by a Voice from Heaven; and which *Odo* having heard, he flung away his *Virgil*, and all its Serpents with it. And having been after that much devoted to St. *Martin*, though he met with no Serpents in his way as he went by Night to St. *Martin*'s Church to pray to him, he met with Herds of Foxes, and which did peſter him ſo, that he did not know what to do. This Plague continued until a kind Wolf came, and did offer *Odo* his Aſſiſtance; and of which *Odo* having accepted, that Wolf when he Travell'd was ſuch a Guard to him, and when he was within Doors, ſuch a Porter, that the Foxes never moleſted him any more.

Odo, after he was freed from this cruel Fox-Perſecution, apply'd himſelf to his Studies; and to encourage him in them, Pope *Gregory* did one Night put a Pen into his Hand, and with which he collected *Gregory*'s Morals into one Volume, which before laid diſperſed all over his Works. They that are not ſatisfy'd with theſe Adventures of *Odo*'s, may repair to *Surius*, where they may fill their Bellies with them.

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The Third Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church, is the *Camaldunian* in *Italy*; it was Instituted by *Romualdus*, about the Year 970, and differs more from the *Benedictine*, than that of *Cluny* does. The *Camaldunians* ordinarily having neither one common Dormitory, nor Refectory, their Cells being in separate Houses, and they do eat together but twelve times in a Year; and do never meet together at Divine Offices, but on Sundays and Holy-days; neither do they ever eat any Flesh, but when their Health requires it. Their Habit is White.

Romualdus, the Founder of this Order, was born in *Ravenna*, and who, having, when he was young been Sentenced to live forty Days in a Monastery, for having been concerned in a Duel, in which his Father, who was a Duke, had killed his Adversary, he was by a Miracle converted to be a Monk; he had often refused it, when he had been spoke to by a Monk with whom he had contracted an intimate Acquaintance. But that Monk having at last asked him, *Whether he would not be one, if St.* Apolonar *appeared to him*; he promised he would: And having with his Friend prayed all the first part of the Night before an Altar, at Cock-Crow, St. *Apolonar* came out from under it, all over cloathed with Light, and having a Golden Censer in his Hand, he went about in his Pontificalibus, and incensed all the Altars in the Church,

and after he had done that, went back by the ſame way that he came. And tho' it is not ſaid that *Apolonar* did ſpeak a Word to *Romualdus* of turning Monk, he did nevertheleſs, upon that Viſion, take the Habit upon him; and not having learnt to Read and Sing his Pſalter, he was taught it by a Monk whoſe Name was *Marinus*, and who ſwitched him ſo ſeverely on the left ſide of his Head, that his left Ear loſt its Hearing; and which was bore by him with that Chearfulneſs, that he ſpoke to *Marinus* to ſwitch him on the other ſide of the Head, when he deſerved to be Corrected.

Never was poor Monk ſo cruelly perſecuted by the Devil, and by ſo many ways as *Romualdus* was: At firſt the Devil made ſuch a knocking in his Cell when he was in Bed, that he was not able to Sleep for the Noiſe; and wanting Sleep very much, the Devil having aſſumed a Body, did lye ſo heavy upon his Thighs and Legs, that he bruiſed them, and broke ſome of the Bones. And tho' he had often made the Devil ſlink out of his Cell aſham'd of himſelf, he would not give over moleſting him; and ſo frequently was he viſited by the Devil, and with whom he always had one Conflict or another, that if any of the Monks did but happen to come to the Door of his Cell, he would run to it, and believing them to be the Devil, would cry out, *Accurſed, what wouldſt thou have? Bold Dog,*

Dog, I forbid thee to come here, thou poysonous Serpent, that was thrown down from Heaven, I do forbid thee. And with such Weapons as these, *Romualdus* was always prepared to fight the Devil when he came. But one Evening as he was saying his *Completas*, a Squadron of Devils rushed in upon him, and having knocked him down, they gave him several Wounds; but tho' he was ready to sink away by reason of his great Loss of Blood, he did not give over saying his *Completas*, 'till he came to the End of them, and then by a short Prayer he dispersed the whole Battalion.

After this great Victory, the Devil would never venture to come within his Reach, but would sometimes in the Shape of a *Raven*, at other times in the Shape of a *Bustard*, and at other times in the Shape of an *Æthiopian*, or of some Savage Beast, stand at a distance, making dreadful Faces at him. And tho' *Romualdus*, who understood the Laws of Duelling, would challenge and provoke him to come up to him, the Devil would never venture to do it; and who finding that he was no Match for *Romualdus*, he stirred up divers Monks to persecute him, and which they did with great Fury, but with as ill Success, as he that set them to work.

The Fourth Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church, is that of the *Valle Umbrosa*. It was instituted by one *Gilbert*, from whom those

thoſe Monks are called *Gilbertines*. The Reader will, I believe, have enough of this *Gilbert*, after he is told, That he was *Romualdus*'s Scholar, and that he was called to be a Monk by a Crucifix, which, when he was worſhipping it, nodded its Head to him, and ſmiled upon him.

The Fifth Order of Monks, is the *Carthuſian*. It was Inſtituted towards the end of the Eleventh Century, and is under none of the common Monaſtick Rules, but is govern'd by Conſtitutions of its own making. It is, both for Clauſure and Diet, the ſtricteſt Order in the *Roman* Church. Its Monks live alone in Cells, which conſiſt of a little Oratory, a ſmall Study, and a Bed-Chamber; to which a ſmall Garden is laid. On ſome certain Days they do all meet together at the divine Offices, and in the Refectory; and if the Weather will permit it, do all walk together a little way into the Fields, but I think without ſpeaking a Word one to another. I have been in three of their Cells, and did heartily pity the three Monks that were in them, none of them, ſo far as I could obſerve, being Men of Contemplation, nor of Study, for they had but few Books beſides their Offices; nor employ'd about any Handy-work; ſo that to me they ſeem'd to ſaunter away their heavy and irkſome Time betwixt their Beds and their Gardens, and which are not big enough to employ them much.

much. For in truth, if they be not either very devout, or very ſtudious, no Men are more to be pity'd; conſidering that moſt of them have thrown themſelves into that ſolitary State of Life, more upon ſome great Diſcontent, than upon any ſettl'd Principle of Devotion, and fetter'd themſelves in it by Vows for all their Days; ſo that if, with Time, that Diſcontent wears off, they muſt neceſſarily be unhappy, as well as with it. One of the Three that I ſaw, as the Merchant I went with to ſee him, and who was a great Acquaintance of his Fathers, told me, had thrown himſelf into that Monaſtery three or four Years before, to be revenged on his Friends for having croſſed him in his Love. He ſighed often, and ſeemed to be very uneaſie, and did force us to make him ſo long a Viſit, and the Guardian, from whom the Merchant, who uſed to buy his Oranges, had Leave for us to ſee him, ſent a Servant to call at the Door of the Cell, that the Gates were going to be ſhut; he ſeemed to be very unwilling to part with us, and did bid the Merchant adieu with Tears in his Eyes. So that I do really believe the poor Man was the more uneaſy for ſome Days, for his having had a ſhort Snatch of Converſation. They have commonly very good Bread, and very good Wine, and enough of both; and tho' they muſt not taſte Fleſh, nor any thing that has touched it, no

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not to ſave their Lives, they have commonly good Fiſh, and good Fruit; ſo that I am apt to think, that their Diet does not give them half the Uneaſineſs, that their being alone, and having nothing to do, gives them; and eſpecially when they conſider, that they are ſtaked down to it for their Lives; there being no Paſſage from the *Carthuſian*, to any other Monaſtick Order.

This inhumane Order, was inſtituted by one *Bruno* a *German*, but who was a Canon of the Church of *Rheims*. I have not his Life at length by me, but the Reader will, I ſuppoſe, know enough of him, from the two Stories which are commonly told of his launching into that ſolitary Courſe of Life. The firſt is, That the Thing that drove him into it, was a *Pariſian* Doctor, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, and of whoſe Piety, as well as Learning, he had an high Opinion, having for three Days following when they were ready to have put his Corps into the Grave, ſate up, and declared, *That by the juſt Judgment of God, he was damned*; and having ſaid that, he lay down again.

The other Story is, That the Biſhop of *Grenoble*, the Night before *Bruno* and his ſix Companions came to him, in queſt of a ſolitary Place to live in, had a Viſion, in which he ſaw Chriſt come down from Heaven, and in a deſart Place of his Dioceſs, called the *Char-*

Chartreuſe, build a Palace. He did likewiſe ſee ſeven Stars of the Colour of Gold, and which having joined themſelves together, did make a Crown, which did by little and little raiſe its ſelf from the Earth, and aſcend up into Heaven. The Biſhop at firſt ſight knew *Bruno* and his ſix Companions to be the ſeven Stars which he had ſeen; and ſo did beſtow upon them all the Lands called the *Chartreuſe*. And whatever the Monaſtery was, that *Bruno* built there, there is one ſo Great and Rich there at this Time, that the Biſhop would not have had a true Viſion of it, if it had not appeared to him as a Palace.

The Sixth Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church, is the *Ciſtertian*. It ſaid to have been inſtituted by one Abbot *Robert*; but whether it was or not, *Bernard* has now long had the Name of its Founder; and in ſome Countries its Monks are from his Name called *Bernardines*. It differs more from the *Benedictine*, tho' it is under the Rule of that Order, than that of the *Cluny* does; having ſeveral different Conſtitutions, and its Habit of a contrary Colour, being white.

Bernard was born in *France*, in the Twelfth Century. And to do him Juſtice, he ſeems to have had the beſt natural Parts, and the moſt Learning of any of the Monaſtick Founders; and if it had not been for the Tragical Fraud he made uſe of to promote a very unfortunate *Cruzado*, and the other Frauds

Frauds he uſed in favour of the Pope he adhered to in the Time of a Schiſm, his Sincerity and Piety might have been judg'd equal to his other Talents.

His Mother, when ſhe was with Child of him, dreamt ſhe had a white Dog in her Womb, which might be the Reaſon of the *Ciſtertians* Habit being white, as the *Raven* who was *Benedict*'s firſt Brother, his Colour might be the Reaſon of the *Benedictines* Habit being black.

When he was a Child he was much troubled with the Head-ach, and an old Woman having been brought, who knew how to cure it, he would not ſuffer her to come near him, believing that ſhe made uſe of Charms.

As he was at Church upon *Chriſtmas-day*, when he was but a Boy, he pray'd, that the certain Hour when Chriſt was born might be reveal'd to him; and when that Hour was come, he ſaw a New-born Infant. What pity it was that *Bernard*, who has writ ſo much, did not record that Hour; about which, and the Day, and the Month, and the Year when Chriſt was born, Chronologers are ſtill ſo much divided.

Having been in a very froſty Night ſeized on by a violent Carnal Temptation, he threw himſelf naked into a Pond of Water, and ſtaid in it, until he was almoſt froze to Death.

Once as he was Preaching to a very great Congregation, who did all hang upon his Lips,

Lips, a Temptation of Vain-glory invaded him, and he did hear a Voice within him, ſaying, *See, how all the People do attend to your Words.* He was about to have given over, to have mortify'd that Temptation: But having perceived that it was the Devil that had ſpoke to him, on purpoſe to have hindred the Good that was done by the remaining Part of that Sermon; he turned about his Head to the Devil, and ſaid to him, *As I did not begin this Sermon for thee, ſo neither will I end it for thee*, and ſo went on. He was always very ſickly, and was not only glad that he was ſo himſelf, but he judged it neceſſary for all Monks to be ſo; and for that Reaſon he built *Claraval*, and all his other Monaſteries in low and damp Places.

He laboured hard to bring all his Monks to an uninterrupted Attention in their Devotions; and having been one Day as he was Riding, told by a Peaſant, *That he found that to be an eaſie thing*; he promiſed him the Mule he rode upon, if he would but ſay the *Lord's-Prayer* without any Diſtraction of Thought; the Peaſant began that Prayer, but before he was got half over it, he confeſſed, *It came into his mind, whether with the Mule he ſhould have the Saddle and Bridle, or not.*

Being at *Pavia*, a Woman poſſeſſed with the Devil was brought to him, and the Devil, before *Bernard* had ſaid a Word to the Wo-

Woman, cry'd out, *Do you think that ſuch an Onion and Leek Carrier as this is, is able to throw me out of Poſſeſſion?* Upon that *Bernard* did order the Woman to be carried to St. *Sirus*'s Church, in which, tho' *Sirus* had before diſpoſſeſſed all that were ever brought to him, he would not do it at this time, that *Bernard* might have the Honour of it. The Devil in a ſcoffing manner ſaid, *That neither little* Sirus, *nor little* Bernard *ſhould turn him out.* But yet for all that, *Bernard* did drive him out, before he had done with him. And to another Woman in the ſame City, on whom the Devil had lain ſix Years after a very diſhoneſt manner, he gave a Stick, with which ſhe cudgelled the Devil ſo, the firſt time he came, that he never troubled her any more.

Bernard, after he had perſwaded the Kings of *England* and *France* to ſubmit themſelves to his Pope, not being able to prevail with the Duke of *Aquitain* to do it, he went one Day to that Duke with the Sacrament in his Hand, and the Duke having thrown himſelf down at *Bernard*'s Feet, *Bernard* gave him a luſty Kick, and bid him riſe and acknowledge the true Pope; the Duke roſe, and being thus kicked into it, made his Submiſſion.

The Three following Orders of Monks having nothing ſingular in them that is conſiderable, I ſhall but juſt mention them.

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The Seventh Order of Monks is the *Cœleſtin.* It was inſtituted by *Petrus Moronus*, and who having been afterwards choſen Pope, did take the Name of *Cœleſtine.* This poor Monk was, by Cardinal *Cajetan*, who took the Name of *Boniface* the Eighth, perſwaded to abdicate the *Roman* Chair, that he might ſpend his whole Time in Devotion. But his Succeſſor *Boniface*, fearing, that if he were at Liberty in his Monaſtery, it might poſſibly come into his Head to return to his Pontifical Chair again, he kept him a cloſe Priſoner as long as he lived.

The Eighth Order of Monks is the *Williamite*, which is likewiſe called the Order of *Montis Virginis*, and of *Montis Oliveti.* It was Inſtituted by one *William*, a Noble *Italian*, and it had many Years ago Forty-ſeven Monaſteries. There were *Hermites* who were likewiſe called *Williamites*, from *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, but they were long ago thrown into the *Mendicant* Order of the Monks of St. *Auſtin.*

The Ninth Order of Monks is the *Silveſtern.* It was inſtituted by a Monk of the *Valle Umbroſa*, and had long ago Twenty-ſeven Monaſteries.

There was an Order of Monks in *Italy*, called the *Humiliati.* It was Inſtituted by the Nobles of *Milan*, and Confirmed by Pope *Innocent* the Third. But the *Humiliati* having in the laſt Age happened to quarrel with

the Cardinal *Borromeus*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, Pope *Pius* the Fifth diſſolved that Order in the Year 1570, and did ſeize on all the Revenues, which did ariſe to 70000 *Aurei*. It was given out, that they had all conſpired together to have murder'd that Cardinal; but the Popes and their Miniſters have practiſed the vile Method of miſrepreſenting all that they are diſpleaſed with, too long, to be believed by any that know them in this, or in any other ſuch Caſe.

The formentioned Orders of Monks, are all, beſides the *Carthuſians*, under the *Benedictine* Rule, and for that Reaſon I have given them the Precedency; the Monks under the *Benedictine* Rule, being both the Oldeſt and the Richeſt in the *Roman* Church, in which the Monaſtick Rules are Four in Number, to wit, the Rule of St. *Bazil*, the Rule of St. *Auſtin*, the Rule of *Benedict*, and the Rule of *Francis*; not that the Two firſt Rules were made by St. *Bazil*, and St. *Auſtin*; but having been made many Ages after their Deaths, were to give them Credit, called by their great Names. The Difference of theſe four Rules, for they do all enjoin the three Monaſtick Vows of Poverty, Cœlibacy, and Obedience, are concerning the Strictneſs of the Clauſure, and Diet, and Property; in all which they are all, beſides the *Carthuſian* and the *Franciſcan*, ſo relaxed by Papal Bulls and Diſpenſations, that it is not worth while

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to mention those Differences. Those common Rules do differ from Statutes made by the Orders themselves for their own better Government, that nothing in those Rules can be altered by any but the Pope, to whom all the Monastick Orders are subject in a particular manner; and who, if they were all brought together, would make up a much greater Army of stout bodied Men, than any Kings in *Europe* are able to raise; for the sake of which immediate Dependance of all the Monastick Orders on the *Roman See*, they are in their Disputes with Bishops, and their Secular and their Parochial Clergy, commonly favoured by the Popes, as I shall shew hereafter. This great Monastick Army is put in Battel array to the Pope's Hand, by his Marshals, by whom the *Dominicans* are appointed to be, and are called the *Heavy*, and the *Franciscans* the *Light* Horse, and the Jesuits are by them appointed to be the Foot, and to carry *Harcubuses*, which will do Execution at a greater Distance than the Cavalry's Pistols and Carabines. The Jesuits are likewise the Ingineers to this Army, and who, if they had not been prevented by a wonderful Providence, would, in the Gunpowder Plot, have given a most tragical Proof of their great Skill in that Art.

The Orders of Monks under St. *Austin's* Rule, as they call it, are the Canons Regular, the *Premonstratenses*, the *Dominicans*, the

Hieronomites, in divers Shapes, the *Servites*, the *Jesuati*, the *Crucigeri*, the *Boni Jesu*, the *Trinitarians*, the *Eremites* of St. *Augustin*, the *Theatines*, the *Paulistæ*; the military Orders of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, of St. *James* of *Compostella*, of the *Tutonick* Order, and of St. *Lazarus*, and of St. *Mauritius*.

I shall begin with the Canon Regulars; they are either Canons in Cathedral Churches, who were anciently all Seculars, and the Bishop's Council; brought under the three Monastick Vows, by the Craft of the Bishops of *Rome*, that they might depend the more on them, or are Canons in Churches Collegiate: So the Canons of the *Lateran* Church, who anciently were Seculars, were made Regulars, and did continue to be so for several Ages, to the unspeakable Advantage of the *Roman See*, which none but Monks could ever have raised to so great a Height, by such vile Methods as it was raised. And after this Pattern of the *Lateran*, the Canons in many Cathedral Churches in the *West*, were, it is like, made Regulars, to the great Disquiet of their Bishops. And though the Popes themselves have found it convenient to bring the Canons of the *Lateran* Church, which is their Cathedral, back again to be Seculars, yet they will not, where they have Power, suffer any other Bishop to make the same Change in his Cathedral. And as the Canon Regulars are got into abundance of Cathedrals,

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and would be in them all beſides the *Lateran*, if the Pope could have his Will: So they have great Numbers of Monaſteries, and which are all Collegiate Churches; and commonly very Rich, and full of great Preferments, which are divided among them: Neither their Clauſure, nor their Diet, is ſo ſtrict as that of the Monks; their Habit is the ſame with that of the Secular Prieſts; only they wear a white Linnen Tunick over it: They alſo wear Caps, and have no Cauls; they live all in one Houſe, or Monaſtery, and do eat together in a common Refectory, and have their provincial Chapters; but the Vow of Poverty is no where ſo ill obſerved, as it is among them, unleſs it be among the Jeſuits.

The Canon Regulars are poſitive, that theirs is the oldeſt Order in the Church, having been inſtituted by St. *Peter*; but they have not as yet produced that Apoſtle's Monaſtick Rule, nor his Injunction of the three Vows; though it is very much, that that Pretence had not done it before this Time.

The Second Order under the Rule called St. *Auſtin's*, is the *Premonſtratenſes*, it had its Name from *Premonſtratum*, a Place in *France*, where its firſt Monaſtery was built; this Order was inſtituted by one *Noribert* a Nobleman of *Loraine*, in the Beginning of the Twelfth Century; it has nothing ſingular in it, that is conſiderable.

The Third Order under the Rule called St. *Auſtin*'s, is the *Dominican*, it was inſtituted in the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, and is both the firſt Mendicant Order, and the firſt Order that had a ſolemn Confirmation from the Pope; it was confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, but ſeven Years before the *Franciſcan* Order was confirmed by him. And as there are no People in the World among whom Emulations about Place and Precedency are higher, or fiercer, than among the Monaſtick Orders; ſo the *Franciſcans*, being much diſturbed at their having loſt the Precedency of the *Dominicans*, but by ſeven Years; they are poſitive that their Order was by Word of Mouth approved of by Pope *Innocent* the Third, before the *Dominican*, and that that Approbation was tantamount to a Confirmation. The *Carmelites* and *Auſtins*, who are Mendicants likewiſe, but very proud Beggars, will have their Orders to be the firſt in the Church, and that they ought therefore in all Proceſſions to have the Precedency; and if that would do it, the *Carmelites* are ready to ſwear that their Order was firſt inſtituted on Mount *Carmel*, by the Prophet *Elias*; and having much degenerated from what it was at firſt, was reſtored by St. *John* the Baptiſt, and the *Auſtin* Mendicants are ready to do as much, to prove, that their Order was inſtituted by St. *Auſtin*, who died many Years before either *Benedict*, or any other

other Monaſtick Founder was born; but neither of them as yet, have been able to convince the Orders that take Place of them, nor I believe will never be able, that that ancient Prophet, and Father, did ever make Rules which required the three Monaſtick Vows to be taken, in which the Eſſence of a religious Order is reckoned to conſiſt, and ſo they are forced much againſt their Wills to yield them the Place.

The *Dominican*, and all the other Mendicant Orders, do differ from the Monkiſh, in the main End of their Inſtitution; the main End of the Monkiſh Inſtitution being Contemplation, and of the Mendicants Action; by which Difference another was naturally created relating to Property, which was, that ſince the Monks did nothing for their Neighbours, they could have no Title to a Maintenance from them, and muſt therefore either ſtarve, or muſt have notwithſtanding their Vow of Poverty, a Right in their Community, though not in their Perſons, to Goods ſufficient to ſuſtain them; whereas the Mendicants being employ'd in preaching, and doing other religious Offices to their Neighbours, ought to be maintained by them, and to live upon their Alms, without any Right either in their Perſons, or in their Communities to any other Goods; but this original Difference betwixt Monks and Mendicants, has been long ſo confounded by the Migh-

ty Papal Power, that it is not now to be met with in any Mendicant Order, no not in the *Franciſcan*, though it is true, Property is in their Communities, under more Diſtinctions than it is in any other, but ſtill it is there, as to all uſeful Intents and Purpoſes.

The Thing that gave the firſt Riſe to the *Dominican* Order was, its being found neceſſary, by reaſon of the great Number of the *Albigenſes* which were in *France*, and were much the ſame with Proteſtants, to have an Order of Men ſet apart to oppoſe all that ſhould deny the Papal Authority, or any of its Doctrines, and who were firſt to be employed to preach to thoſe People. And when it was found by Experience that that would not do, they were to be appointed Inquiſitors, with the Aſſiſtance of a *Cruzado* to worry them, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, in the Account of the Founder of this Order.

The *Dominican* Order is very numerous, there being no City, nor great Town, in any Popiſh Country, where they have not one or more Convents, and they are alſo pretty thick over the Country.

Its Habit is ſo like to that of the *Carthuſians*, that if it had not been given to *Dominick* by a Miracle, it would have been ſuſpected that he had taken it from thoſe Monks.

It is a white Caſſock, with a white Scapulary, and a black Cloak over them, and which has a Coul, as well as the Caſſock; the

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Dominicans chief Vertue is in their Scapulary, as the Monks is in their Belt; and the *Franciſcans* in their Sleeve, and which are all for that Reaſon kiſſed upon the Knee.

Before the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was ſtarted by *Scotus* a *Franciſcan* Friar, the *Dominicans* carried all before them in the *Roman* Church; but by their having oppoſed that popular Conceit, though for no other Reaſon but becauſe it was firſt ſtarted by the *Franciſcans*, and had not been thought of by *Thomas Aquinas*, they have loſt themſelves very much, both in the Affections of the People, and as to the great Poſts which were filled by them before. For as there is not now any where a Popiſh Univerſity, that does not require a Subſcription to the Truth of that Doctrine, from all its Profeſſors, and from all on whom it confers any Degrees; ſo the *Dominicans* are by that means excluded from all their Chairs and Degrees, as they are by the Jeſuits excluded in a manner from the deſirable Office, and which they held ſo long, of being Confeſſors to Princes. They are very uneaſy under this, but they do not know how to help it, being aſhamed to acknowledge a Doctrine, which they have ſo long, and ſo publickly oppoſed, in Contradiction to the *Franciſcans*; with whom all the other Monaſtick Orders, but chiefly the Jeſuits have joyned in maintaining

taining that popular Opinion, as they have alſo in the point of Predeſtination, which is ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by the *Dominicans*, though perhaps for no other Reaſon, but becauſe it was taught by *Thomas Aquinas* the great Idol of their Order. The *Dominican* is likewiſe called the Predicant Order, becauſe they were for a long time the chief Preachers in the *Roman* Church, and becauſe their Founder is ſaid to have been a great Preacher himſelf, and to have laid it upon all his Friars as a great Duty; though of late Years there are other Orders that exerciſe it much more than they do.

Dominick, the Founder of this Order, was born in *Spain* in the Year 1170. His Mother when ſhe was with Child of him, Dreamt ſhe was delivered of a Dog, with a flaming Torch in his Mouth, a proper Emblem enough of an Inquiſitor; and when he was Baptized, his God-mother, though no body elſe ſaw it, did ſee a Star that enlightened all the World; and as he was in his Cradle, a ſwarm of Bees pitched on his Lips. And though from the Day of his Baptiſm until the Day of his Death, he is ſaid never to have committed one mortal Sin; he would nevertheleſs, before he was ſeven Years old, riſe out of his coſtly Bed, for his Parents were ſaid to have been very rich, and lye upon the Ground. When he was a Boy he would never play, nor uſe any Paſtimes; and when he

he came to be a Man he gave all that had been left him by his Father, beſides his Books, among the Poor, and when he had nothing elſe to give, the Poor had his Books likewiſe. And having one Day ſeen a Woman crying bitterly for her Brother's being made a Captive by the *Moors*, he begged of her to take him, and ſell him to thoſe Infidels, and to redeem her Brother with the Money ſhe had for him; but, to his great Mortification the Woman would not do it. When he was at his Study, having borrowed ſome Books I ſuppoſe, the Devil did peſter him very much in the ſhape of a Flea, leaping on his Book ſo, that he could not read for him; at laſt, being much provoked, he fixed him on the Place where he left off reading, and for a conſiderable time he made uſe of him in that Shape, to find that Place preſently. But having at laſt releaſed the Devil from that Poſt, he appeared to him in his Study in the ſhape of a Monkey, and did by skipping off and on his Book, and by making apiſh Faces and Grimaces at him, diſturb him much more than he did before; he did therefore, to ſpoil his Monkey Tricks and Sport, command him to take his Candle out of his Candleſtick, and hold it to him; the Monkey did ſo, and he made him hold it till it was burnt down to his Foot; the Monkey did then make a horrid ſqualing, but he made him hold it until it was burnt out, and, which it was not

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in a pretty while after, it had burnt him to the Bone.

Having gone into *France* with the Biſhop of *Oſma*, of whoſe Church he was a Canon, though by preaching and working Miracles, he converted the *Albigenſes* about *Thouloufe* by thouſands in a Day; he did nevertheleſs animate *Simon de Monfort*, who was General of the Pope's *Cruzado* againſt thoſe Chriſtians; by which *Monfort*, and his *Cruzado*, to which *Dominick* was the chief Chaplain, many thouſands of thoſe poor Chriſtians were maſſacred. That part of *France* muſt neceſſarily have been very populous at that time, elſe there could not have been ſo many of thoſe Chriſtians left for *Monfort* to murder, after *Dominick* had made ſuch prodigious Converſions amongſt them; for to be ſure *Monfort* would not touch any of his Converts. The greateſt Converſion that ever was made by *Dominick*, was after he had the Roſary given him by the bleſſed Virgin; whoſe Vertues *Dominick* publiſhed with all the Strains of his Eloquence, and with great Succeſs: However, there was one ſo deſperate it ſeems, as to laugh both at the Roſary, and at *Dominick*'s Mountebank Rhetorick upon its Vertues; but he was ſoon after puniſhed for it; by a great many Devils having entered into him. So he was carried by his Friends to *Dominick* for help, and he, before a vaſt Congregation, having pity on the *Demoniack*, though

though he did not deſerve it at his Hands, did charge the Devils, for by the Noiſe they made, he perceived there was a great many of them, to return true Anſwers to all the Queſtions he ſhould put to them.

Dominick's firſt Queſtion to them was; *How they came to enter into that Man, and how many they were in Number?* After terrible Howlings the Devils made anſwer, *That it was for his having ſpoke againſt the* Roſary, *and laugh'd and made a May-game of his Sermons; and that they were in Number juſt* 15000, *and that they had been forced much againſt their Wills to go into one, who might have done them great Service.*

Dominick's Second Queſtion to then was, *Why they were ſo many as* 15000? They anſwered, *Becauſe there are fifteen Decads in the* Roſary, *which he had derided.*

Dominick's Third Queſtion to them was, *Why they had ſuffered that Man to be brought to him?* The Devils roared out all together, *That it had been done to their great Confuſion, but that they could not hinder it.*

Dominick's Fourth Queſtion to them was, *Whether all that he had ſaid of the Vertues of the* Roſary *was not true?* After more terrible yellings than they had ever made before, they all howled out, *Curſed be the Hour in which we entered into this Statue! Woe be to us for ever! Why did we not ſuffocate him before he was brought hither? But it is now too*

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late, and we cannot do it, for thou holdeſt us in burning Flames, and in chains of Fire, ſo that we are forced to declare the Truth to thee, to our own great Prejudice. O yes! know all Chriſtian Men and Women, That this cruel Dominick, *this implacable Enemy of ours, has never ſaid one Word concerning the Vertues of the* Roſary, *that is not moſt true; and know ye further, That if you do not believe him, great Calamities will befal you.*

Dominick's Fifth Queſtion to them was, *Who was the Man in the World the Devil hated the moſt?* To this they all anſwered preſently, *Thou art the very Man, who by thy Prayers, and by thy ſevere ways of Penance, and by thy Sermons has ſhewed the way to Paradiſe to every Body; and has ſnatched our Prey from us. But know thou, that our Dark Congregation, and Infernal Troop, are ſo inrag'd againſt thee, that a Brigade of the ſtrongeſt and moſt miſchievous Spirits have a Commiſſion to fall upon thee and thine without Mercy.* Here *Dominick* turned to the People and ſaid, *God forbid, O Chriſtians! that you ſhould believe all that is ſaid by the Devils, who are Lyars, and Inventers of Lyes. Not but that the Almighty is able to communicate ſo much ſtrength to the moſt Miſerable and Vile Sinner, as will overcome all the Infernal Hoſts, as you ſee I do at this time, who am the greateſt of all Sinners.* At theſe words the Devils did all burſt out, and cry'd, *Curſed be ſo great Humility as this, which tears and torments us ſo much.*

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Here *Dominick* throwing his Stole, for he had not his Scapulary yet, which has much more Vertue, about the Neck of the Demoniack, he ask'd the Devils, *Of which State of Men among Christians there were the most Damned?* A new and singular thing hapned, *Dominick*'s Stole had no sooner touched the *Demoniack*'s Neck, than a great quantity of thick gory Blood did burst out at his Nose, and of a poysonous Clay out of his Ears: At that Sight *Dominick* commanded the Devils to give over tormenting that poor Sinner; the Devils answer'd, *That they would do it with all their Heart, if he would let them go.* He said, *They should not stir until they had given him an Answer to the Question he had asked them.* They said, *In Hell there were great Numbers of Bishops and Princes of both Sexes, but not many Country-People, who though they are not perfect, yet are not so great Sinners. They had likewise a great many Merchants and Townsmen, who were sent to them for their Covetousness, Cheating, and Voluptuousness.* Here the Devils stopt, until *Dominick* asked them *Whether there were any Priests or Monasticks in Hell?* They answer'd, *They had great Numbers of Priests but no Monasticks, but such as had transgressed the Rule of their Order.* *Dominick* understanding this of his own Friars, asked them, *How it was with the* Franciscans? They answered, *Alas! Alas! we have not one of them yet, but we do hope to have great Num-*

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bers of them, when their Devotion is a little cooled.

Dominick's next Question to them was, *Who was the Saint in Heaven the Devil feared the most?* Instead of returning any Answer to this, they begged *Dominick* by all that was Sacred, *To be satisfy'd with the Torments he had given them, and the Torments they were condemned to in Hell, and not to give them the Torment of returning a true Answer to that Question, before so great a Congregation, to the ruin of their Kingdom*; telling him, *That if he would ask the Angels they would tell him who it was. Dominick*, who whatever other Vertues he had, had little Mercy in his Nature, said, *He would make them tell him*; and perceiving how unwilling they were to do it, he threw himself down upon the Ground, and went to work with his *Rosary*: Upon which, a strange Scene opened, great flames of Fire having burst out at the *Demoniack*'s Nose, Mouth, and Ears; after that above an hundred Angels all in golden Armour, did appear, and in the midst of them the blessed Virgin, with a Rod of Gold in her Hand; and who having given the *Demoniack* a Switch with it, she commanded the Devils to return a true Answer to the Question *Dominick* had put to them: They all roared out, *O our Enemy, O our Damner! O our Confusion! Why didst thou come down from Heaven to torment us here? Why art thou so powerful an Intercessor*

for for Sinners? O thou moſt certain and ſecure way to Heaven; but ſince thou commandeſt it, we muſt tell the Truth, tho' it will confound us, and bring Woe and Miſery on our Princes of Darkneſs for ever.

Hear, O Chriſtians! ſaid the Devils, *this Mother of Chriſt is too powerful in preſerving all her Servants from Hell; it is ſhe, that, as a Sun, diſſipates all our Darkneſs, and enervates and brings to naught all our Machinations: We are forced to confeſs, that no Body is Damned that perſeveres in her Holy Worſhip, and is devoted to her: One Sigh from her has more power than the Prayers of all the Saints; and we fear her more than all the Citizens of Paradiſe: And you muſt all know, that vaſt Numbers of Chriſtians are, contrary to Right, ſaved by calling upon her at the Hour of their Death: And we ſhould long ago have deſtroyed the Church, if it had not been for this little Mary; and being forced to it, we muſt own, That none that perſevere in the Exerciſe of the* Roſary, *can undergo the Eternal Torments of Hell, for ſhe obtains Contrition for all her Devout Servants.*

This Dialogue being ended, *Dominick* with a loud Voice did exhort the Congregation to join with him in reciting the *Roſary*; and behold a great Miracle, at every Angelical Salutation, a multitude of Devils did ruſh out of the *Demoniack* in the ſhape of burning Coals: And the bleſſed Virgin having given

the Congregation her Bleſſing, diſappeared. The *Demoniack* was diſpoſſeſſed, and many of the Congregation were Converted, and did devote themſelves to the *Roſary*. It is very much that they all did not, having heard ſo much in its Commendation, and ſeen the wonderful Effects that it had. And ſince they were now certain, that the Man of the World the Devil hated the moſt was *Dominick*, he muſt be the Man in the World likewiſe, that they loved and reverenced above all others. And for the Biſhops, Princes of both Sexes, and Prieſts, what they had heard, could not but very much abate their Reverence for them, and encreaſe it for Monaſticks.

This was not the only Dialogue *Dominick* had with the Devil, but I ſhall relate no more of them, but only obſerve, that his having converſed ſo much with the Devil might be one Reaſon of his being ſo Inhumane, as we ſhall ſee anon he was, having firſt taken notice of ſome of his Monkiſh Vertues.

Dominick had always deſired to dye no other Death but that of a Martyr, and he is ſaid to have been once pretty near it; for having been met alone by ſome of the *Albigenſes*, they aſſaulted him, with an Intention to have killed him. *Dominick* told them, *He had one Favour to beg of them?* And they having asked him what that was, he anſwered, *That you would kill me by Piece-meal; cutting off*

off both my Arms first, and showing them to me; and digging out both my Eyes next; (it is not said they were to be shewed him) *and having after that cut off both my Legs, I intreat you to give my Body as many Wounds as it can receive.* But so spiteful were the *Albigenses* against him, that rather than gratifie him, they chose to leave him in a whole Skin, as they found him. *Dominick* did eat very little, and slept less, and did every Night bestow three lusty Whippings upon himself. In his Devotions he was frequently raised off the Ground high up into the Air: And tho' it was not known until after he was dead, he had long wore an Iron-chain girt so close about his Body, that it had eat into his Flesh. He was so humble, that tho' there was no need of it, he would go begging about from Door to Door. And being asked why he spent much more of his time at *Carcazona*, than at *Tholouse*, he said the only Reason was, *Because he was despised and railed at in the former, and much Reverenced in the latter.*

It would have been well both for *Dominick* himself, and for the whole World, if he had encreas'd his Merits, by spending his whole time in such Monkish Exercises; tho' he had joyn'd to them his *Preaching*, *Rosary*, and *Scapulary*; and not have pushed on *Monfort* and his *Cruzado*, to have butcher'd so many thousands of his Auditors, because they would not be converted by him, nor have gleaned after

him, to have burnt ſo many of them as an Inquiſitor. It was *Dominick* that did firſt put the erecting that inhumane Office into the Pope's Head, and who for having been the firſt Projector, had for a long time the Patent of it from the Pope for himſelf and his Order. The Biſhops, who before were the Judges of Hereſie, being repreſented by him as an Order of Men no ways fit for that great Truſt. *Dominick* had the Spirit of that Calling to Perfection; for *Monfort*, after he had with his *Cruzado* entirely ſubdued the *Albigenſes*, having given over killing them, not being willing, it is like, to depopulate his Conqueſts, *Dominick*, as the Pope's Inquiſitor, did go to work with them, and after the great *Cruzado Maſſacres*, had ſuch large Gleanings, that in one Day he burnt 300 of them alive in *Tholouſe*: *Paulus Æmelius* ſaith, they were 400, and who rather than turn Papiſts, were ſo forward to embrace the Flames, that by the Inquiſitors they are ſaid to have thrown themſelves into them, and as this was the firſt Inquiſition Act of Faith, ſo *Paramus* an Inquiſitor ſaith, *It was the moſt glorious that ever was Celebrated.*

At *Caſſares*, *Dominick* ſoon after burnt 60 *Albigenſes* alive in one Day; and at a Place but a little way from it, he burnt 180 together alive; and who, tho' they were all offered their Lives when they were at the Fire, if they would turn Papiſts, did chooſe rather to

to be burnt; for which great Example, as well as for his having been the first Projector of their Office, singular Respects, as I have shewed in another Place, are paid to this Day by the Inquisition, to *Dominick* and his Friars.

I shall here leave it to any Impartial Man to judge, whether the greatest affected Monkish Appearances of an extraordinary Humility and Charity, are any Proofs at all of those two, or of any other Christian Vertue, being really in a Spirit, so Mercileſs and Inhumane?

The Fourth Order, under the Rule called St. *Austins*, is that of the *Hermites* of St. *Hierome*. It is not called by that ancient Name for that Father's having instituted it, but because he appeared to its Founder, and did offer himself to be God-father to his New Order. It was instituted in *Spain* by one *Peter Fernandes*, and some other Monkish Gentlemen, about the Year 1370, near *Lupiaria*, where its Mother-Monastery stands. Their Habit, to the best of my Remembrance, is much like that of the *Dominicans*; and tho' they were instituted, and are called *Hermites*, yet they have long had two Rich and Sumptuous Monasteries in the Neighbourhood of the two Courts of *Castile* and *Portugal*; the Monastery of the *Escuriel* belongs to this Order, and that of *Bethlehem* by the River *Tagus*, in whose magnificent Church the Kings

of *Portugal* are buried. There is an Order of Monks likewiſe in *Italy*, who are called by St. *Hierome*'s Name, and tho' much Pains has been taken to incorporate them into one Order with that in *Spain*; on both ſides ſuch a ſtiffneſs in ſome little Differences has appear'd, that it could never be done.

The Fifth Order under this Rule, is that of the *Servites*. It is ſaid to have been inſtituted ſoon after the *Dominican*, by ſome Noble *Italians*, called by a Voice from Heaven to retire to a Deſart Place. They are called *Servites* for their having devoted themſelves to the Service of the bleſſed Virgin. It is ſaid to have 300 Monaſteries of Men, and 30 of Women, and to have about a 1000 Friars.

The Sixth Order under this Rule, is that of the *Jeſuati* of St. *Hierome*. It was inſtituted by one *Johannes Columbinus* of *Sienna*, and was confirmed by *Urban* the Vth in the Year 1467. Its Habit is a ſquare Coul, a white Coat, and a brown Cloak over it. Its Monks are all Laymen, and ſo have no Quire, but do meet together at Divine Offices, in the ſame manner that other Laicks meet at them; and do ſuſtain themſelves by their bodily Labour; and for that Reaſon, do more reſemble the ancient Monks, than any other Order of Monks in the *Roman* Church. It has 33 Monaſteries, and about 600 Monks in them.

them. There are two Orders more of Monks in *Italy* under the Name of St. *Hierome*, one of them was inſtituted by *Peter Piſanus*, which has ſixty four Monaſteries, and in them about 800 Monks; the other is called the Order of St. *Hierome* in *Feſulanis*, and which is ſaid to have 40 Monaſteries.

The Seventh Order under this Rule is that of the *Crucigeri*, who are poſitive that their Order was inſtituted by *Cletus*, the third Biſhop of *Rome*, to whom they ſay an Angel appeared with a Croſs in his Hand, and bid him build an Hoſpital in *Rome* to entertain the Pilgrims that came thither in Devotion; and which is the Buſineſs of the *Crucigeri*, of whom I ſhall only ſay, that they do ſeldom ſuffer the Pilgrims that come to them, to ſurfeit themſelves, with what they eat or drink in their Monaſteries; which were formerly an hundred and eight, but are now but fifty five, and they are reckoned to be about three hundred in Number; their Habit is Blew, and they always carry a Croſs in their Hand.

The Eighth Order under this Rule is the *Boni Jeſu*, it was inſtituted about the Year 1504, its Mother Monaſtery is in the City of *Ravenna*.

The Ninth Order under this Rule is the *Trinitarian*, which its Friars ſay was inſtituted by Heaven; an Angel having appeared to *In-*

nocent the Third with his Hands a-croſs, exchanging a *Moor* for a Chriſtian Captive, and that upon that Viſion it was confirmed by *Innocent*; its Friars Buſineſs is to collect Alms for the Redemption of Chriſtian Captives, and to go or ſend into *Barbary* to ranſome them. Their Habit is white, and they do wear a great Croſs upon their Breaſts, but in *Barbary* they wear neither the one nor the other, and it is to be wiſhed that the poor Chriſtian Captives there, don't ſuffer by their Almoners building for themſelves ſo many ſtately Convents.

The Tenth Order under this Rule is that of the Hermits of St. *Auſtin*: They will needs have their Order, and their Rule too, to be the Work of that Father; whereas in truth, they were inſtituted after the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, having been by *Innocent* the Fourth made up of all the Hermits diſperſed over the *Weſt*, who before were under no Rule; and who having put them all under the Rule of St. *Auſtin*, did call their Order by that Father's Name; it is a very numerous Order, and tho' a Mendicant, is I believe very Rich, at leaſt it has Magnificent Monaſteries, and whoſe Churches are richly adorned.

The Eleventh Order under this Rule, is that of the *Theatines*. It was Inſtituted in the Year 1525, by *Peter Caraffa* Archbiſhop of *Theatine*, and *Marcellus Cajetanus* a Papal Protonotary; and for that Reaſon its Friars

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are in ſome Places called *Theatines*, in other Places *Cajetans*; they are regular Clergy, and their Habit, as well as the Jeſuits, is much the ſame with that of the ſecular Prieſts, *Caraffa* their Founder was afterwards choſe Pope, and took the Name of *Paul* the Fourth; and who having been always looked on as a Man of a moſt heavenly Mind, and of an auſtere courſe of Life, the City of *Rome* was put into a terrible Fright, when his Election was firſt publiſhed; apprehending that he would certainly retrench, at leaſt all the Pompous Expences of the Papal Dignity; but they were ſoon undeceived by that Pope, who having been asked by his *Major Domo* the Night after his Election, after what manner he and his Nephews did intend to live? He anſwered him ſhort, *How ſhould we live but as Princes:* And ſo they did, no Pope ever lived more ſumptuouſly.

The Twelfth Order under this Rule is that of the *Oratorians*. It was firſt Inſtituted in the Year 1575 by *Philip Neri*, they are all likewiſe regular Prieſts, and in the Year 1673, there was an Order much like to it, Inſtituted in *France*, and which has ſpread it ſelf very much over all that Kingdom.

The Thirteenth Order of Friars under this Rule, is the *Pauliſtæ*. There are two Sorts of them; the one has its Name from *Paul* the *Hermit*, the other from St. *Paul* the Apoſtle; neither of them hath any thing ſingular, that is conſiderable.

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The laſt Order under this Rule is that of St. *Anthony*, for the entertaining of poor Strangers; but its Monaſteries are ſo filled with Friars, that beſides a hard Lodging, they have nothing to ſpare.

I come now to take notice of the Military Orders which are under the Rule called St. *Auſtin*'s.

The Firſt is that of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, where that Order was firſt Inſtituted. But having been driven from thence by the *Saracens*, they ſettled themſelves in the *Iſland* of *Rhodes*, and from that *Iſland* were called the Knights of *Rhodes*. And having been chaſed from thence likewiſe by the *Turks*, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth did beſtow the *Iſland* of *Maltha* upon them, of which *Iſland* their Grand-Maſter is Sovereign Prince, and from it they are now called the Knights of *Maltha*; they have great Eſtates, and do all take the three Monaſtick Vows: Their Habit is like that of other Soldiers, only they do wear a Croſs at their Breaſt, and a large white Croſs upon their Cloak.

The Second Military Order, is that of the Knights of St. *James* in *Spain*, who do take only the Vow of Conjugal Chaſtity, and ſo may marry with the Licence of their Maſter, who was ſo Rich and Powerful, that the King of *Spain*, with the Pope's Leave, has lodged that great Office in himſelf; and does appoint a Deputy, who has the Title of *Commendador Major*.

Major. But though at first this Order was Instituted only for Soldiers, who are by Sea and Land to fight against all the Enemies of the Christian Faith, it is now conferred on all sorts of People, that have Friends or Interest enough to procure it.

The Knights of the Militia Orders of *Calatrava*, and *Alcantara* in *Spain*, and of the Orders of Christ, of St. *James*, and of *Avis* in *Portugal*, do all take the Vow of Conjugal Chastity only; and as to the Vow of Poverty which they do all likewise take, that is so mollify'd by useful Distinctions, that it is no Hindrance at all to their making use of the Profits arising to them from their several Orders, in the same manner as they would have done if they had never taken any such Vow. These Orders have all rich Convents belonging to them, and a great many considerable Ecclesiastical Benefices, their Convents are all filled with Clarks, who are no less of their several Orders than the Knights themselves, and who do wear the Cross of their Order either at their Breast, or upon their Cloaks. These Military Clarks are bound to attend the Masters of their Orders, or the Knights which are sent by them to fight against the Infidels, as their Chaplains, and Confessors, and among them all the Ecclesiastical Benefices which do belong to their Orders are distributed but for the Wars; the Knights of *Maltha* only excepted, none

none of the other Military Knights, nor their Military Chaplains neither do trouble themſelves, for being obliged to go to them by their Order.

The *Theutonick* is, I believe, much the ſame Order with that of *Maltha*, and which was once exceedingly Rich.

The Laſt Military Order under this Rule is that of St. *Lazarus*. It was Inſtituted to take care of the Sick, but chiefly of Lepers; its Knights do take only the Oath of Conjugal Chaſtity. In *Savoy* this Order was Incorporated with that of St. *Mauritius*, and the Duke of *Savoy* is its Maſter; its Knights do wear a green Croſs on their Cloaks, darting out Rays. I am miſtaken if this Order of St. *Lazarus*, was not ſome Years agoe diſſolved by the *French* King, who beſtowed all its Lands on the ſplendid Hoſpital of the *Invalids*, but whether that was done with the Pope's Leave or not, I cannot tell.

Theſe Military Orders were firſt inſtituted by Princes, and who beſtowed great Lands upon them; but the Popes, according to their Cuſtom, to bring them all under an immediate Dependance upon them; did by robbing the Parochial Clergy, and beſtowing their great Tithes upon thoſe Military Orders, bring them under the three Monaſtick Vows, and by that means made them their Subjects.

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The Third Monaſtick Rule in the *Roman* Church is that of St. *Francis* of *Aſſiſi*. All ſort of Property is ſtrictly forbid by this Rule, and its Friars are all commanded to go Barefooted, and Bare-legged, and not to ride, unleſs their Health requires it, and never to touch any Money. Their Habit is a brown courſe ſort of Stuff with a Coul, and they have all a Cord tyed round their Waſte, and are from that commonly called the *Cordeliers*; the *Capuchine* Habit has large Patches ſowed into it, when it was firſt made, no Monaſtick Habit is believed to have ſo much Vertue in it as the *Franciſcan*, and for that Reaſon in *Lisbon*, there is not one in an hundred, that can go to the Price, that is not buried in that Habit.

This Rule, though it ſtill continues the ſame, was of no long ſtanding before its Rigour was much mollify'd by Papal Relaxations: *Innocent* the Fourth having relaxed it ſo far as to allow of a Property in its Communities; which great Relaxation, though it was thankfully embraced by moſt of the *Franciſcan* Convents, ſome did ſtand out, and would not accept of it, declaring they would, according to their Vows, obſerve the Rule in its rigour. Out of this Diviſion two Families aroſe in that Order, they that made uſe of that Papal Relaxation, being called the *Conventuals*, and they that rejected it were called *de Obſervantia*, and the latter valuing

themſelves

themſelves much upon their ſtrict Adherence to their Rule, and eſpecially after that Adherence, in its greateſt rigour was confirmed by Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth, they did become ſo mutinous againſt *John* the twenty Second, upon his having condemned what his Predeceſſor had approved of, that that Pope was once very near having diſſolved their Order.

This hot Controverſie betwixt the Pope and the *Franciſcans de Obſervantia*, concerning their Property, in the Goods which they conſumed in uſing them; does at firſt ſight ſeem to have ſomething in it that is very ſingular; which is, that both Parties in that Diſpute, did ſeem to act againſt their own Intereſt. The Friars being for lodging the whole Property in all they had or uſed in the Pope, and the Pope for lodging that Property in the Friars. But whoever will look to the bottom of that Matter, will perceive, that in Intereſt neither the one nor the other was concerned in the Deciſion of that Queſtion. For whereas the Pope, if that Property had been lodg'd wholly in him, could not, without ſtarving the Friars, have been one Farthing the richer for it. So in reality to the Friars it was the ſame thing, whether the name of that Property was in the Pope or themſelves, ſince however that was, they would ſtill have the Uſe and Conſumption of all that they got by begging. And as ſuch

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ſort of Controverſies are always Fruitful, ſo out of this another did ariſe, which was long hotly Diſputed: It was, whether Chriſt and his Apoſtles had any Property in any ſort of Goods. But after the heat of theſe Controverſies was pretty well over, the Friars *De Obſervantia* came likewiſe to have ſome Papal Relaxations; with which ſome of their Brethren being much offended, they refus'd to make uſe of them, and out of this Schiſm, two Families of Friars more did ariſe, the one is called the *Clarins*, and the other called the *Capuchins*, which was inſtituted by one *Francis Puchine*. Theſe two laſt Families do obſerve their Rule with more ſtrictneſs than either of the former; going bare-legg'd, and ſome of them bare-footed, tho' moſt of them do wear Sandals. They do beg about the Streets with a Wallet over their Shoulder; and their loud cry in *Lisbon*, is, *An Alms for the ſake of St.* Anthony. Their Alms is commonly a Two-penny white Loaf, and which is given them upon a Salver or Plate, with a clean Napkin upon it, upon the Knee, and the Friar when he has received it, gravely holds forth his Sleeve to the giver of it to kiſs; and happy is the Servant that can have the carrying of that Alms to them. But the way of Begging which is common to all the *Franciſcans*, and by which they are chiefly ſupported, is by ſending their Friars by Couples with an Aſs or a Mule, all over the Country,

try, in the Harveſt time, to beg Wheat, and in time of the Vintage to beg Wine, and in the time when the Oil is made to beg Oil; and which being carried to their Convents, are laid up in Store in them. And whereas the *Franciſcans* are by much the moſt numerous of all the Monaſtick Orders, they, and ſeveral other Mendicant Friars are an incredible Burden upon the Farmers, who are kept very poor by them, for they will not be deny'd: Indeed I once ſaw a Couple deny'd, and that very roughly; but it was not by a Farmer, but by a *Dominican* Friar, who was looking after the making of Wine for his Convent, who ſent them and their Mule a packing from his Wine-preſs; with telling them very roughly, *The* Dominicans *were Mendicants as well as the* Franciſcans. And I was once told by a Farmer, after he had given a conſiderable Quantity of Wine to a Couple of them, that the *Termo de Lisboa*, which is not ſo large as one of our Counties, had no fewer than 10000 of thoſe Mouths to maintain out of its Products. And tho' there are too many bold and ſturdy Beggars in all Parts, they are all modeſt Creatures in Compariſon of the Begging Friars.

'Till *Leo* the Tenth's Time, the *Conventuals*, and the *De Obſervantia*, were all under the ſame General, and who was choſe by the *Conventuals*. But by that Pope, the Seal of the Order was taken from them, and was given

given to the *Obſervantia*'s, with a Power to chooſe their own Superiour, and who is choſe by them to this Day, with the Title of *General Miniſter*; and by him the *Conventuals* were likewiſe allowed a Power to chooſe their Superiour, and which they do ſtill with the Title of *General Maſter*. All the forementioned Diſputes betwixt the ſeveral Families in the *Franciſcan* Order, were only Controverſies about Words, being really nothing elſe but Monkiſh Affectations of the Name of a great Poverty. For thoſe that were for that Poverty in its utmoſt Rigour, do make the ſame Uſe of their Alms, and with as little Diſturbance as the others do, who ſay they have a Property in them.

Of all the Monaſtick Orders, the *Franciſcan* is by much the moſt numerous. Above an 100 Years ago, the Friars *De Obſervantia* had 2203 Convents, and in them 30696 Friars: And at the ſame time the *Capuchines* had 662 Convents, and 6600 Friars in them; and whoſe Numbers of Convents and Friars are undoubtedly much greater at this time. For if they can have but a little Ground given them any where, by the help of a pretended Viſion or Miracle, they will run up a Convent upon it preſently, throwing the Friars they put into it upon the Country to be maintain'd. I have never ſeen any Liſt of the Number of *Conventuals* and *Clarins* Convents and Friars; but one cannot but

gueſs them to be ſo many as will make up above 60000 *Franciſcan* Friars; and who, notwithſtanding their Poverty, are commonly jolly well-look'd Men, and much plumper than the Laity. And to give the *Franciſcans* their due, that *Faſtus*, and ſupercilious Fierceneſs which is ſo viſible in moſt of the *Dominicans*, does not appear in them; as indeed it did not in their Founder; poor *Francis*, of whom I come now to give ſome Account, appearing by what we are told of him, to have been a weak harmleſs Enthuſiaſt; whereas *Dominick* appears to have been a Man of Deſign, with a great meaſure of Pride, and of Fierceneſs in his Nature.

Francis was born in *Aſſiſi*, a City in *Italy*, in the Year 1182. His Father was a rich Merchant; and he, having bred *Francis* to his own Profeſſion, truſted him with his Caſh, which *Francis* ſpent at a moſt profuſe Rate, in Feaſting and in Gaming, and upon Lewd Women. At the Age of 25, he was thrown into a Jayl, for having been in a Skirmiſh, which was betwixt the looſe young Fellows of *Aſſiſi*, and thoſe of *Peroſa*: He lay in a Jayl a Year, but was never the better for it, having as ſoon as he was at Liberty, return'd to his former wild Courſes, and in which he continued, until a full ſtop was put to his Career in them by a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs; for having been very near Dying, he did reſolve if he recovered, to lead a new Life;

Life; and he did so, but which, in its way, had its Extravagancies as well as his former Course of Life: For having the first Time he went abroad, happened to meet with a Beggar all in Rags, he changed Cloaths with him; and the Night after, as he was asleep in his Rags, in a Vision he saw a large Room full of Riches, and of the most glorious Jewels he had ever seen before; his Mind having run much after them, he heard a Voice, saying, *These Jewels are for my Soldiers, who shall take the Cross upon their Shoulders and follow me. Francis*, after he was awake, having still an aching Tooth after the rich Jewels which he had seen, did resolve to go a Soldier in the *Crusado*, which at that time was ready to march to the Holy Land, believing those to be the Soldiers on whom those rich Jewels were to be bestowed. But after he had been at the Charge and Trouble of buying a good Horse, Arms, and all other Military Accoutrements, a Voice within him told him, That was not to be the Warfare that he was to be employed in. Upon that, as if he had fled from his Colours, he ran into a Desart, where he hid himself for some Days in a Cave, whipping himself all the time most unmercifully for his past Sins. After he returned to *Assisi*, the *Crusado* being gone its like, as he was one Day at his Devotions before a Crucifix in St. *Damian*'s Church, he heard a Voice saying to him, *Francis, look*

on my Church, and repair it, for it is ready to tumble down. *Francis* underſtanding this of the Church he was in, which was much out of Repair, he went home, and not being truſted any longer with his Father's Caſh, he ſold a conſiderable Quantity of his Father's Goods for ready Money, and having carried it in a Bag to St. *Damian's*, he bid the Curate take that Bag of Money, and repair his Church with it. The Curate ſaid, *He would not touch it, for he knew it to be his Father's Money, who was both a very covetous, and a very paſſionate Man.* However, *Francis* threw the Bag of Money down upon the Ground, and went to his Devotions. But before they were ended, his Father having heard what he had done, and that he was gone with a Bag of Money under his Arm to St. *Damian's* Church, he went after him; and having met with the Curate, he asked him with his Eyes full of Fury, where his Son was? The Curate anſwered, *He had been there, but he believed he was gone*; for *Francis* had hid himſelf when he firſt heard his Father's Voice. He asked the Curate, *Where the Bag of Money was which he had brought?* The Curate carried him to it, and he took it up and went home with it, threatning what he would do to his Son whenever he met with him. He was no ſooner gone, than *Francis* ſallied out of the Church, running about the Streets bellowing, and with all the other Actions

and

and Motions of a Man that was diſtracted. His Father having heard of it, went after him, and having come up with him, he drove him before him as a Diſgrace to his Family; and that he might be no more ſo in publick, he did ſhut him up in a cloſe dark Room, with an Intention to have kept him there until he came to himſelf. But *Francis*'s Mother, who is ſaid to have been a much better Woman, than his Father was a Man, having, when her Husband was abroad, taken an Opportunity to viſit *Francis*, after ſhe had exhorted him not to ſpend his Father's Money, nor to diſgrace his Family by running about the Streets like a Fool, or a Madman, ſhe did let him out of his Priſon. But before his Father was returned home, *Francis* had given his Mother the ſlip, and hid himſelf ſo that ſhe could not hear where he was. Her Husband, when he came home, was very angry with her for what ſhe had done; and having received Intelligence where his Son was, he went to him, and promiſed, *Never to have any thing more to do with him, if he would go with him preſently to the Biſhop, and before him make a Renunciation of the Inheritance which belonged to him as his eldeſt Son.* *Francis*, overjoyed with the Propoſition, went with him to the Biſhop; and having before him made a ſolemn Renunciation of his Patrimony, he ſtript himſelf naked, and throwing his Cloaths, Shirt and all, to his Father, he ſaid,

Hitherto I have called you Father, but hereafter I will own no other Father, but my Father which is in Heaven. The Biſhop called to his Servants to bring ſome Cloaths preſently to cover *Francis*'s Nakedneſs; and they having brought in an old threadbare Cloak, *Francis* covered himſelf with it, and having ſallied out immediately from the Biſhop and his Father, he did run full ſpeed through the City and the Suburbs, and threw himſelf into the Hoſpital of the Lepers. And though in the Days of his Vanity, *Francis* had been ſo ſqueamiſh, that the Sight of a Leper would have ſet him a Vomiting, he did now tend and dreſs them with ſo much Pleaſure, that a Leper appeared to him to be an Angel, and his Sores appeared to be Brilliant Diamonds. But *Francis* quickly loſt this grateful Employment, by his having taken ſo much Pleaſure in it, a Voice having ſaid to him, *Francis, if thou wouldſt pleaſe me, thou muſt change ſweet Things for bitter.* Upon this Call, *Francis* left his ſweet Hoſpital in a bitter ſnowy Seaſon, and did, as he was going Singing to *Eugubium*, meet with a Crew of bitter Rogues, who asked him who he was? *Francis* having anſwered, *That he was the Cryer of the Great King*; they were ſo inſenſed, that they threw him into a deep Pit, full of Snow, and left him in it to have periſhed; but having, after they were gone, made a ſhift to crawl out of the deep Pit, he went

went on Singing as before to *Eugubium*. It was in a good Hour for that City that *Francis* came to it at that Time, for if he had not, they would not have had a Cow nor a Sheep left: A moſt hideous Wolf, which had deſtroyed the greateſt Part of them already, having taken up his Reſidence in the Neighbourhood. *Francis*, as ſoon as he came into that City, having been acquainted with the miſerable Condition it was in, did offer if the Magiſtrates would appoint him to be their Plenipotentiary, to go out and treat with the Wolf; and having obtained a Commiſſion from them for that Purpoſe, he walked out to him. The Wolf, when he ſaw *Francis*, was ſo far from falling upon him, or from running away, that he came up to him after a very courteous manner: And *Francis*, to gain the more upon him, having called him *Brother*, asked him, *Why he deſtroyed ſo many Cattle?* Brother Wolf did, by one way or another, for we are not told how it was, give *Francis* to underſtand, *That he muſt have ſtarved if he had not done it, and that that was not reaſonable.* *Francis* granted that it was not, and ſo did in the Name of the whole City, offer to ſupply him every Day with as much as it was comvenient for him to eat, if he would promiſe never to deſtroy any more of their Cattel. Brother Wolf having gladly accepted of the Propoſition, a Peace was concluded betwixt him

and the City of *Eugubium*; and which was, as long as the Wolf lived, ſacredly obſerved by both Parties; *Francis* being the Guarantee of it.

Francis, who from the Day of his Converſion, had always made uſe of a Stone for his Pillow, being once much troubled with the Head-ach, he was over perſwaded to make uſe of a Pillow of Feathers; but his Head was no ſooner laid upon that ſoft Pillow, than the Devils began to make ſuch a Variety of Noiſes in it, that *Francis* was not able to ſleep a wink all Night for them, in the Morning betimes he called a Brother to him, and deſired him to take that noiſy Pillow from under his Head, and to carry it a great way from his Cell; his Brother obeyed him, but it had like to have coſt him dear; for before he had got ſo far with the Pillow, as he intended to have carried it, the Uſe of all his Limbs was taken from him: But *Francis* knowing in Spirit how it was with him, did by a Prayer reſtore the Uſe of his Limbs; and from that Day ſoft Pillows were looked on by *Francis* as the Receptacles of Evil Spirits.

Amongſt an hundred other Things it came into *Francis*'s Head, that the *Sultan* of *Egypt* was to be converted by him to the Chriſtian Faith; and tho' he knew that to be a very dangerous Enterprize, yet his Head was ſo full of it, that he could not reſt until it was

was done. And being got into *Egypt*, and having by one Means or another obtained an Audience of the *Sultan*, he importuned him vehemently to forſake the *Mahometan*, and embrace the Chriſtian Faith. When he found that both his Importunities and Arguments were thrown away upon that Emperor, he did offer, if any *Mahometan* would go into a Fire, to accompany him into it, if the *Sultan* would promiſe to turn Chriſtian, if the Fire burnt the *Mahometan*, but did not hurt him: But no *Mahometan* having had the Zeal to accept of his Challenge, he did offer to go alone into the greateſt Fire that could be made, if the *Sultan* would promiſe, if it did not burn him, for to turn Chriſtian. But the *Sultan* would make *Francis* no ſuch Promiſe, but commanded him forthwith to leave *Egypt*; *Francis* obeyed him, and returned to *Italy*, where he found Wolves more tractable than *Mahometans*, and I do no where read of *Francis*'s ever having had any more ſuch dangerous Impulſes.

A *Quaker*'s having gone from *England* to *Rome* to convert the Pope to his Religion, is a mighty Jeſt with ſome People, who are very much edify'd with this Story of *Francis*'s going from *Italy* to *Egypt* to convert the *Sultan*: But thoſe two Adventures do to me appear to be ſo much alike, that I ſhall leave it to Anatomiſts to tell, whether good Wits that jumpt thus, have not their Brains either much

much of the ſame Size, or much in the ſame Poſture.

Being returned to *Italy*, *Francis* hid himſelf for ſome Time in a Cave, where as he was once diſciplining himſelf moſt unmercifully for his having had no better Succeſs in *Egypt* it is like, he heard one call *Francis*, *Francis*, and having returned no Anſwer becauſe he would not interrupt his whipping. The ſame Voice ſaid aloud, *God will be merciful to all Sinners that turn to him, except it be to thoſe who kill themſelves with ſevere Penances, to whom God will never ſhew any Mercy.* *Francis* not knowing certainly whether this Voice came from Heaven or Hell, did begin to have ſome Miſgivings about the Lawfulneſs of Whipping himſelf as he had done for a long time; but having, whilſt he was in this Quandary, been violently invaded by a Carnal Temptation: By that he plainly diſcovered, that it was the Devil that had ſpoke to him; and being now certain of that, he went to work with his Whip again, and which was all his Days after the dearer to him, for his having at the Devil's Inſtigation had ſome Miſgivings about its Lawfulneſs. However, on this Occaſion it ſtood him in no ſtead, for the more he laſhed himſelf, the Temptation grew the ſtronger; he therefore threw away his Diſcipline, and having thrown away all his Cloaths too, he went out of his Cave, and for a conſiderable Time did

rowl

rowl about ſtark-naked in the Snow; and being grown weary of rowling his Body, he went to rowling of Snow-balls: He made one huge Snow-ball, and four leſſer, and two leſſer than them, which he marſhalled in the Figure of a Circle; and having placed himſelf ſtark-naked in the Center of them, he ſaid to his Body, *See, that great Creature is thy Wife, and the four leſſer are thy two Sons and thy two Daughters, and the two leaſt are thy two Servants; thou muſt work very hard to feed and cloath them all, for they are all ready to be ſtarved, and to die with Cold; or thou muſt otherwiſe think of being chaſte, and that will ſave thee all thoſe Pains.* This notable Stratagem of *Francis*'s had more Power than his Whip and the Snow put together, for his Body was ſo terrify'd with what he had ſaid to it about working hard, that it preſently ſhaked off that Temptation, neither did it ever return any more with the like force.

An hundred more ſuch Monkiſh Adventures are by *Francis*'s beſt Friends reported of him, but I ſhall name only one more, which of all his others, is the moſt admired: It was, That two Years before his Death, *Francis* had all the Wounds of our Bleſſed Saviour given by him to the ſame Part of *Francis*'s Body; and which Wounds, if we may believe Pope *Gregory* the IXth, were both ſeen and touched by *Clara*, the famous Foundreſs of the Nuns, who are called by her Name; and

and that *Clara* in this Caſe might be a Witneſs beyond Exception, ſhe her ſelf is ſaid to have been taken up ſeveral times and nailed to a Croſs, on which, and after ſhe came off it, ſhe endured great Tortures, but was comforted afterwards by the bleſſed Virgin's giving her her Breaſt to ſuck, and whoſe Milk agreed ſo well with her, that *Clara*, tho' ſhe took little or nothing beſides, did grow fat with it.

This Prerogative of the Wounds, as the *Franciſcans* call it, and do value themſelves upon it extreamly, has long been a Matter of great Envy to the *Dominicans*, who have often attempted to have had it communicated to ſome Perſons of their Order, but in vain, by reaſon of the *Franciſcans* watchful Jealouſie over this Prerogative.

In the Caſe of the famous Nun in *Lisbon*, of whom I have elſewhere given a large Account, the *Dominicans* were very near having had it: The plain Detection of which Impoſture, does very much diſcredit all Monaſtick Teſtimonies, in Caſes where the Piety of the Intention may be reckoned to ſanctifie their Falſhood.

The Order of the *Minims*, is, I ſuppoſe, under the *Franciſcan* Rule, its Founder *Francis de Paula*, having been commanded by *Francis de Aſezi*, to make a Church, which he was building, larger than he intended. This *Francis de Paula* was an *Italian*, and lived

lived in the 15th Century; his Life is as true a Legend as ever was written. If the Friars called in *Portugal* the *Pauliſte* are the *Minims*, as I believe they are, their Habit is of a dark Colour; and who, not many Years ago, made a great Noiſe with a Miracle which was wrought in their Convent in *Lisbon*: The Deſign was to have got the Miracle-working Image for that City, to their Convent. But whatever the Matter was, it did not paſs the Inquiſitors, and for that Reaſon did not take Place preſently; however they comforted themſelves with ſaying, *That ſuch Teſtimonies of its Truth might come from the* Brazeels, *or from the* Eaſt-Indies, *as would put it out of all doubt with the Inquiſitors, and with every Body elſe; what had been wrought in their Convent, tho' it was miraculous, having been only in order to the Working of a more important Miracle ſomewhere elſe.*

I lived over-right this Convent when the News of that Miracle, which was, the Candles and Lamps before the Image of our Lady *de Atoche*, having lighted themſelves, whilſt the Sexton was in the Church Tolling the *Ave-Mary* Bell; did firſt bolt out of a ſudden; it ran thro' the City like Wild-fire, and before Morning had drawn a great Part of the City to its Church; the Streets having been all Night crowded with People going to it, and coming from it; and who were

were all so fully convinced of the Truth of that Miracle, that happy was the Person that could have a Drop of the Oil that was in the Lamp when they lighted themselves. One of the *English* Envoy's Foot-men, who had one of those Friars for his Confessor, did, by his Means, get a Drop of it upon his Handkerchief; and being much troubled with sore Eyes, he had rubbed them with that Oil; but tho' by watching all Night, and by making use of a Medicine naturally so improper, his Eyes next Morning look'd worse than ever they had done; yet so great was his Faith, or the Strength of Imagination, that he did stand in it, they were perfectly cured, and that he saw better than ever he had seen before. The Truth of this Miracle was so universally believed, that it was thought the Inquisitors would hardly dare delay Confirming it by their Approbation: They did nevertheless delay it, and by a single Order at once put a full Stop to that Torrent of Devotion; their Reasons were only known to themselves; but there is one thing that every Body knows, which is, that the settling of the Fame of the present Miracle-working Image upon a Convent, is the bestowing of great Wealth upon it. No wonder therefore if the Inquisitors will not be put upon, in the disposing of so great an Advantage: And the Truth is, the Design and the Managery of the

the Friars in that Buſineſs were ſo viſible, that they muſt be Stone Superſtition Blind, that did not ſee them both plainly.

The Fourth Monaſtick Rule in the *Roman* Church, is that called St. *Baſil's*, by whom its Friars, who are only the *Carmelites*, will not have their Order to have been inſtituted; and they are much in the right, for it was not inſtituted in a great many hundreds of Years after that Father's Death: But they will have their Order to have been firſt inſtituted upon Mount *Carmel*, by the Prophet *Elias*, and which having in proceſs of Time much degenerated, they will have *John* the *Baptiſt* to have reſtored it. But notwithſtanding this its Pretence to a remote Antiquity, and to an extraordinary Founder and Reſtorer, the *Carmelite* Friars, are the laſt of the Four *Mendicant* Orders in the Church of *Rome*, and are in all general Proceſſions forced to give Place to the *Dominican*, *Franciſcan*, and *Auſtin*. Now conſidering the great Emulations among the Monaſticks, ſince they have three Vows, is it not a pity that they had not a Fourth, to wit, a Vow of *Humility* as well as of *Poverty*, which if it were obſerved, would eaſe them of ſuch troubleſome Emulations; there being no Families Noble or Royal, more anxious to advance their Antiquities, or that do make uſe of more indirect Means for that purpoſe, than ſome Monaſtick Families are, and for no other End but to help themſelves

to

to a Right of Precedency, how juſtly ſoever it may be deny'd them.

This Rule is very ſtrict, but has, as well as the reſt, been long made eaſie by Papal Relaxations: And the Truth is, the *Carthuſians* and *Capuchins* being excepted, in Practice, there is but very little difference, as to ſtrictneſs, among the Monaſtick Orders, and the greater Strictneſs of the *Carthuſians*, is chiefly in their Clauſure; and that of the *Capuchins* in going Bare-leg'd, and which in warm Countries is no very great Rigour, tho' they were not uſed to it from their Childhood: So that generally ſpeaking, they that are not Monaſticks, but are very devout in the *Roman* Church, are by their Superſtition made to lead more auſtere Lives than the generality of the Monaſticks do with their ſtrict Rules and Vows.

The *Carmelites* are numerous, and have a great many magnificent Convents and Churches, and which do not all ſtand on deſert Mountains, if any of them do, but either within, or in the Neighbourhood of great Cities and Towns; only that their Situation may ſomething reſemble Mount *Carmel*, they do commonly ſtand upon the higheſt Ground in ſuch Places. Their Habit is brown, and is believed to have great Vertue in it, and for that Reaſon ſeveral are buried in that Habit. And, if the *Franciſcan* has not the ſame Privilege, I do very much won-

wonder, why all Papiſts are not buried in the *Carmelite*, ſince the uncontroulable Turn-key of Purgatory has declared, that none ſhall be forced into his Priſon, that is buried in that Habit.

There is a Monaſtick Order in *France* called the *Grandimontan*, that ſeems not to be under any of the forementioned Rules, but to be governed by its own Statutes. This Order was Inſtituted about the Year 1080, by one *Stephen*, who having hid himſelf in the Deſert of *Muretum* in *Aquitain*; was not long there before the Fame of his Auſterities being ſent abroad, had brought Company enough about him; and as in ſuch Viſits People do not often go without Money, ſo in a ſhort time *Stephen* had got enough to build a Monaſtery in the Place where his Cave was, and to maintain the Monks he put into it, who, while *Stephen* lived were never moleſted; but after his Death ſome *Auſtin* Monks that lived near, ſaid the Ground on which their Monaſtery ſtood belonged to them, and did threaten to turn *Stephen*'s Monks out of it; and who not being able to contend with ſuch powerful Adverſaries, they went all together to Prayer for Direction what to do; and did all whilſt they were together in that Exerciſe, hear a Voice ſaying aloud, *Grandimonte*, *Grandimonte*, there being a Mountain not far off called by that Name: Having thus got a divine Right to it, they removed their Mona-

ſtery, and their Founder's Bones thither, and ſo have their Name from that Mountain, that was thus beſtowed on them, by a Voice from Heaven. It was well for thoſe Monks that neither the *Auſtins*, nor no other Monaſticks had any Right to that Mountain; for if they had, tho' *Stephen's* Monks had ſworn it, they would never have believed that they had heard any ſuch Voice from Heaven, ſo far as to have parted with that Mountain to them; but ſome People in ſuch Caſes, are much eaſier of Belief than others, and there is a very good Reaſon for it.

In *Lisbon*, and its Suburbs, there are two Convents of Friars called *Loyans*, I ſuppoſe from St. *Eligius*, or St. *Oloio:* they are very rich, and their Habit is Blue; and if I be not much miſtaken they are a Branch of the Canon Regulars.

There is likewiſe in that City a Convent of Friars, I have no where elſe ſeen or read of; they are *Diſcalceates*, and I think the ſame to the *Auſtin*, that the *Capuchins* are to the *Franciſcan* Order. This Convent was founded by the late Queen Mother, and *Regent* of *Portugal*; and who, after the Adminiſtration of the Government was boiſterouſly taken from her, by her Son *Don Alphonſo*, retired to it and died in it, and there the Plot of laying *Don Alphonſo* aſide, and of advancing his younger Brother *Don Pedro* to the Throne, is ſaid to have been hatch'd.

The

The laſt Monaſtick Order, if it may be called ſo, and which does now over-top all the reſt, is that of the *Jeſuits*; it is under none of the forementioned Rules, but is wholly governed by its own Statutes. It was Inſtituted about the Sixteenth Century, by *Ignatius Loyola* a *Spaniard*; it is of a mixt Nature, partly Clerical, and partly Monaſtical, but has moſt of the former; its Habit is much the ſame with that of the Secular Clergy: Its having taken to its ſelf the Name of the *Society of Jeſus*, gave great Offence at firſt; but that Name having been approved of by the Pope that confirmed it, Jeſuits made no Account of what others thought of it: To this early Inſtance of that Arrogance, its Neighbours have ſince all complained of ſo much, a greater, and that was as early was added; which was its *Founder*, and the Pope by whom it was confirmed, having both plainly inſinuated, its having been inſtituted by the immediate Inſpiration, and Direction of the Holy Ghoſt.

But by what ſoever Direction this Society was inſtituted, the End for which it was erected, was to furniſh the Papacy with a Guard of *Janiſaries* to extirpate the Reformation if it was poſſible. And for this purpoſe to do it Juſtice, it was modelled exactly; not by *Loyola* in all probability, but by Brains more politick, and better ſettled than his were: But he having the Reputation of an Enthuſiaſt

and Visionary, that that Model might seem to have been the Work of an immediate Inspiration, they give him the Name of it, which politick Model I shall endeavour to set in a true Light.

This Society consists of three Families as it were, and who have all distinct Houses.

They are the *Novices*, the *Scholasticks*, and the *Professed*.

The *Novices* are two Years Probationers, and are kept under a very strict Discipline, and are sometimes imployed in the Kitchin, and in Hospitals, and in other servile Works. The Jesuits, by reason of their teaching Latin in their Colleges to all, or most of the Youths, have a mighty Advantage over all the other Orders; for by that means they come to know the Boys that have the best natural Parts, and are the most likely to prove wise Men or Scholars. They have also so many Arts to perswade the most pregnant Boys to be of their Society, that they do seldom fail to gain those they have once pitched upon; neither is their Friends being rich, or their having a fair prospect of an Estate, any Objection against their pitching on such Boys.

When the two Years of their Noviciate are expired, they are removed to the College, where they are called Scholasticks, and do forthwith take the three Monastick Vows, simply, but not solemnly. And in this Admission

miſſion into the Society, there is ſomething that is very Singular; which is, that they who are admitted, are thereby obliged to ſpend all their Days in the Society, but the Society it ſelf is at Liberty to diſmiſs them when it pleaſeth: And as this is contrary to all the other Monaſtick Profeſſions, ſo it has been by many arraigned, of being a very unjuſt Contract; one Party being obliged by it, and the other not, but left at its Liberty.

The Houſes of the Novices have Rents belonging to them, ſufficient to maintain their Members, but the Wealth of the Society, is lodged entirely in the Colleges, in which the Scholaſticks do ſtay many Years before they come to be profeſſed; and after that they leave the Colleges in many Places, and do remove to a Houſe which is called *the Houſe of the Profeſſed.* Theſe Houſes have no Property in any thing, beſides their Buildings, Furniture and Gardens. The Profeſſed being all Mendicants, but who do not beg either about the Streets or in the Country; but do without making any noiſe, by one Art or another obtain yearly Penſions from the Owners of the Houſes and Lands, which are in their Neighbourhood: And theſe Penſions, though they call them Alms, are paid more punctually than moſt Rents; beſides, the Profeſſed do ſtill continue to have ſo much Power in the Colleges, where the Property of all the

Wealth is, that tho' they received no Alms, it would be their own Fault if they were ſtarved; nay in that Caſe, the Colleges are bound to maintain them; but that ſeldom or never happens, the Profeſs'd taking care to eaſe the Colleges, by throwing themſelves upon others, to be maintained by them. The Profeſs'd do with all the other Orders, take the three Monaſtick Vows ſolemnly, which before they had took only ſimply, and are thereby perfectly incorporated into the Society; ſo that it is not in its Power to diſmiſs them.

To the Three common Monaſtick Vows, the profeſſed Jeſuits do add a Fourth, which is, *To go whitherſoever the Pope ſhall ſend them, and without requiring any thing from the Pope towards a Maintenance*; and as this is a great eaſe to the Papacy, which is ſeldom or never at any Charge, on the Account of the remote Miſſions which it orders; ſo the great Charges of thoſe Miſſions, do fall chiefly upon the Princes into whoſe Dominions in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, thoſe Miſſions are ſent, and who do ſtand the faireſt to reap the greateſt Profit by their good Succeſs; as it was in the Caſes of the great Miſſions of Jeſuits ſent into *Æthiopia*, which did coſt the Crown of *Portugal* a great deal of Money.

It is not improbable, that the Colleges out of their great Wealth, may contribute at firſt,

firſt, ſomething towards the Maintenance of thoſe who are ſent into Proteſtant Countries; but as they are ſeldom, or never ſent into any of thoſe Countries, unleſs there be a conſiderable Number of Papiſts in them; and for that Reaſon *Sweden* and *Denmark*, are never troubled with any ſuch Miſſionaries: So thoſe Papiſts muſt be very poor indeed, if the Jeſuits that come among them don't ſqueeze a Livelihood out of them, to the eaſing of their Colleges; which they are always as covetous to enrich, as any *Jew* is to enrich himſelf.

This Society has two other ſorts of Members in it, and which are both very uſeful, but chiefly the latter; they are called their *Spiritual, and Temporal Coadjutors.*

The Spiritual Coadjutors not being judged, after they have been long Scholaſticks, and in holy Orders, ſufficiently qualify'd to be employ'd as Miſſionaries; tho' they do take the three common Vows ſolemnly, and are perfectly incorporated into the Society, which the Scholaſticks are not, yet they are not admitted to take the fourth Vow to the Pope; they are employed in the Houſes of the Profeſs'd to ſay Maſſes, and to hear Confeſſions, and to do ſeveral other things whereby thoſe Houſes are helped to Alms, or rather Penſions: But they can never be choſe Rectors of them, neither have they a Voice in the Election of the General of the Society; they

are likewiſe employed to officiate in the Houſes of the Novices, and to teach them *Latin.* The Temporal Coadjutors do wear the Habit, and do take the three Vows, but are not in holy Orders; they are the Stewards, and Bailiffs of the Colleges, for their Eſtates and Rents, and in the way of Merchandize, their Factors, and ſome of the ſhrewdeſt that are perhaps in the World, and do not yield to the *Jews* themſelves in any of the Latitudes of Commerce.

This Society having been erected on purpoſe to fight the Pope's Battels, not with Prayers and Tears, and Monaſtick Auſterities, but with Learning, Policy and Addreſs, its Members are not, by its Conſtitution, bound to have a Choir for the Performance of Divine Offices, neither have they one any where; nor are they bound to attend Proceſſions, nor to uſe any of the Monaſtick Auſterities, which would interrupt their Studies, or might render their Addreſs leſs agreeable to all ſorts of People; and for that Reaſon the other Orders will hardly allow the Jeſuits to be Monaſticks or Religious.

And whereas theſe Qualifications, tho' never ſo conſpicuous might not, if they were not adorned and helped by great Riches, be able to do the Pope any great Service; the Society by its Conſtitution, did for that Reaſon ſet open a wide Door in its Vow of Poverty, for Wealth to flow in at; and which

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it has done beyond what its firſt Projectors could reaſonably have hoped; of which, for its being one of the Depths of this Society, I ſhall take particular Notice.

The Builders of this Society being ſenſible, that unleſs it had the Name and Title of a Monaſtick and Mendicant Order, it would never be much reverenced by the People, with whom that Name carries in it a perfect Renunciation of the World; they did for that Reaſon require all that were admitted into the Society, to take upon them the Vow of Poverty. But as Diſtinctions are things of a wonderful Benefit and Conſolation to Monaſticks, fetter'd with hard Rules and Vows; ſo by the help of a very nice Diſtinction, to call it by the ſofteſt Name it can bear, this Vow of Poverty was taken ſo, as to be no Hindrance to the Society's growing Rich, and that by the Gifts of thoſe who have taken that Vow: Which uſeful Diſtinction was, that at firſt they ſhould not, with all other Monaſticks take the Vow of Poverty Solemnly, but only Simply, and which being taken ſo, it ſhould not render thoſe that took it, uncapable of having a Property, and Dominion over all Goods, which might come to them by Inheritance, or by any other way. But tho' their Property in all ſuch Goods ſhould be as entire as if they had never taken that Vow; their Dominion, or Power of Diſpoſing them, was

by

by the Conſtitution of the Society, put under divers Limitations.

Firſt, That they muſt not employ thoſe Goods, or any Part of them, to their own private Uſe.

Secondly, That they muſt not give them, nor no Part of them to any of their Relations, as ſuch.

Thirdly, That they muſt give them all to one pious Uſe or another.

Laſtly, They muſt be adviſed by their Superiors, to whom they have taken an Oath of Obedience, how to diſpoſe of them.

It is true, by their Conſtitution, they are not bound to give them, or any part of them to the Society, unleſs it ſhould happen to want them, and which, if it were an hundred times richer than it is, it will always pretend it does: Wherefore until I ſhall have heard of a Jeſuit's having given a conſiderable Quantity of any Goods, which have fallen to him, from the Society to ſome other Uſe, I ſhall ſtill reckon this Power of theirs to diſpoſe of all ſuch Goods, under the forementioned Limitations, to be in effect the very ſame to the Society, as if the Property and Dominion of all ſuch Goods, were by an expreſs Statute immediately lodged in it. Since

if

if there were ſuch a Statute, the Society could not be more ſecure of thoſe Goods than they are now; and that without lying, in the Eye of the World, under the Reproach of graſping after great Wealth, by its very Conſtitution.

But ſince if this, as to private Property and Dominion over Goods, were the Caſe of all the Members of the Society, it could not be looked on as a Monaſtick Mendicant Order, a Way was found, let the Society be never ſo Rich, to help it to that Title; which was that a few of its Scholaſticks, after they have been many Years in the College, ſhould take upon them the Vow of Poverty ſolemnly, ſo as to be rendred altogether uncapable of a Property or Dominion over any Goods: And who on the Account of this Second Profeſſion, are called the Profeſs'd; and though they are but few in Number in Compariſon of the others, as I ſhall ſhew anon; yet that they might be ſufficient to conſtitute the Society a Mendicant Order, they are, for this Second Profeſſion, reckoned to be its only perfect Members, and they only have a Voice in the Election of its General. And as the Scholaſticks are commonly well advanced in Years, before they take this ſolemn Vow of Poverty; ſo it is not improbable, that few Scholaſticks, whilſt there is a likelihood of any Goods falling to them, by Inheritance, or by any other way, do ever take that Vow.

And

And if after that an Eſtate ſhould unexpectedly fall to any of them, tho' I believe that ſeldom happens, the Right which the Law of the Land gives them to thoſe Goods is probably managed ſo by their Temporal Coadjutors, that the Society ſeldom fails of them.

There is another Vow in the Society, which muſt needs be of great Advantage to it; it is, that if any of its Members are preferred to be Cardinals or Biſhops, they ſhall in all Matters of Importance ask the Advice and Direction of the General, or of the other Prelates of the Society; by which Vow if they obſerve it, they are kept all their Days in a Dependance upon thoſe Superiours.

By theſe and many more ſuch Contrivances, the Jeſuits tho' but of Yeſterday, are richer than all the reſt of the Monaſtick Mendicants put together: And that the Reader may ſee how faſt Wealth did, by theſe commodious Channels in its Conſtitution, flow in upon the Society, I ſhall here ſet down a Liſt of its Houſes and Numbers, which was made within an hundred Years after it was firſt inſtituted.

In the Continent of *Italy*, the Society had at that time four Provinces, to wit, the *Roman*, the *Neopolitan*, the *Milaneſe*, and the *Venetian*.

The *Roman* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, one

one Novice Houſe, one Seminary, and 22 Colleges, in which were 740 Perſons.

The *Neopolitan* had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, two Novice Houſes, two Reſidencies, and 17 Colleges, in which were 594 Perſons.

The *Milaneſe* had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, two Novice Houſes, one Reſidency, and 10 Colleges, in which were 411 Perſons.

The *Venetian* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, three Novice Houſes, two Reſidencies, and 15 Colleges, in which were 373 Perſons.

The *Sicilian* Province had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, two Novice Houſes, one Reſidency, and 16 Colleges, in which were 638 Perſons.

The Iſland of *Sardinia* had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, a Novice Houſe, a Seminary, and 9 Colleges, in which were 190 Perſons.

In *Spain* the Society had five Provinces, the *Toletan*, the *Caſtilian*, the *Aragoneſe*, the *Betick*, and the *Portugueſe*.

The *Toletan* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, two Novice Houſes, two Reſidencies, and 16 Colleges, in which were 570 Perſons.

The *Caſtilian* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, one Novice Houſe, one Reſidency, and 25 Colleges, in which were 613 Perſons.

The *Aragoneſe* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, one Novice Houſe, and 12 Colleges, in which were 390 Perſons.

The

The *Betick* Province had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, two Novice Houſes, one Reſidency, and 20 Colleges, in which were 600 Perſons.

The *Portugueſe* had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, one Novice Houſe, four Reſidencies and 11 Colleges, in which were 680 Perſons.

In *France* the Society had five Provinces, to wit, the *French*, the *Aquitain*, the *Lioneſe*, the *Tolozan*, and the *Champaign*.

The *French* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, two Novice Houſes, two Reſidencies, and 9 Colleges, in which were 460 Perſons.

The *Aquitain* had in it, one Novice Houſe, two Reſidencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 280 Perſons.

The *Lioneſe* had in it, two Novice Houſes, and 12 Colleges, in which were 470 Perſons.

The *Tolozan* had in it, one Novice Houſe, and ten Colleges, in which were 310 Perſons.

The *Champaign* had in it, one Novice Houſe, one Reſidency, and 8 Colleges, in which were 226 Perſons.

In the *Netherlands* the Society had two Provinces, the *Flemiſh*, and *Gallobelgian*.

The *Flemiſh* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, two Novice Houſes, two Reſidencies, and 12 Colleges, in which were 617 Perſons.

The

The *Gallobelgian* had in it, two Novice Houſes, one Seminary, two Reſidences, and 17 Colleges, in which were 652 Perſons.

In *Germany* the Society had three Provinces, to wit, that of *Upper-Germany*, that of the *Rhine*, and that of *Auſtria*.

The *Upper-German* Province had in it, one Novice Houſe, three Reſidencies, and 13 Colleges, in which were 546 Perſons.

The Province of the *Rhine* had in it, one Novice Houſe, two Reſidencies, and 20 Colleges, in which were 601 Perſons.

The *Auſtrian* had in it, two Novice Houſes, five Reſidencies, and 18 Colleges, in which were 553 Perſons.

In *Poland* the Society had two Provinces, the *Polonian*, and the *Lithuanian*.

The *Polonian* had one Profeſs'd Houſe, one Novice Houſe, and 9 Colleges, in which were 459 Perſons.

The *Lithuanian* had in it, two Profeſs'd Houſes, one Novice Houſe, two Reſidencies, and 10 Colleges, in which were 336 Perſons.

In the *Eaſt-Indies* the Society had two Provinces, that of *Goa*, and that of *Malabar*.

The Province of *Goa* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, one Novice Houſe, five Reſidencies and 8 Colleges, in which were 280 Perſons.

The *Malabar* had in it, one Novice Houſe, one

one Seminary, 7 or 8 Reſidencies, and 10 Colleges, in which were 150 Perſons.

In *Japan*, the Society had one Novice Houſe, one Seminary, 13 Reſidencies, and four Colleges, in which were 130 Perſons; theſe Houſes are all deſtroyed.

In the *Philippin* Iſlands, the Society had one Novice Houſe, ſix Reſidencies, and two Colleges, in which were 100 Perſons.

In the *Weſt-Indies*, the Society had four Provinces, that of *Peru*, that of *Paraquaviae*, that of *New Granada*, and that of *Mexico*.

That of *Peru* had in it, a Novice Houſe, a Seminary, two Reſidencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 370 Perſons.

That of *Paraquaviae* had in it, two Reſidencies, and 7 Colleges, in which were 116 Perſons.

That of *New Granada* had in it, a Novice Houſe, a Seminary, two Reſidencies, and two Colleges, in which were 100 Perſons.

That of *Mexico* had in it, one Profeſs'd Houſe, three Reſidencies, and 10 Colleges, in which were 340 Perſons.

The Province of *Brazil* had in it, 14 Reſidencies, and three Colleges, in which were 180 Perſons.

The Inſtitution, and prodigious Growth of this Society, to above 12000, in leſs than 100 Years, and the turning of the Council

cil of *Trent* againſt the Reformation, were the two Maſter-ſtrokes of the Papal Policy. And though I don't think that the number of the Houſes of the Society is much, if at all encreaſed, ſince the Year 1600, about which time the foregoing Liſt was made; the great Veneration the Society was in at firſt, being by the Envy of the other Monaſticks, who are all continually railing againſt the Jeſuits, but chiefly by their Subtile and Griping Ways in all Places to get Power and Wealth, every where much abated; yet its Houſes are much Larger and Richer than they were then, and its numbers of Perſons much encreaſed.

The preſent great Support of the Society, after that of the ſingular Papal Favour, is, its furniſhing all *Roman Catholick* Princes with Confeſſors, the King of *Spain* only excepted; who for the Honour the *Dominicans* did him, by making him their Founder's Kinſman, muſt have one of his Couſin's Order for his Confeſſor.

Whether it was by its extraordinary Addreſs, or by its known Latitude in Caſuiſtical Divinity, that the Society has, to the Excluſion of all others, thus engroſſed to its ſelf theſe High and Beneficial Poſts, I ſhall leave to the Judgment of Men that are well acquainted with the Meaſures and Methods in *Roman Catholick* Courts.

Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the *Jeſuites*, was born in *Guipuſcoa* in *Biſcay*, in the

Year 1491; his Father was a Gentleman, and had fourteen Children, of which *Ignatius* was the Youngeſt.

When *Ignatius*, who is not ſaid to have had any Miraculous Succeſſes in his Infancy, or whilſt he was a Boy, was come to be a Man, being full of the Ambition of his Poor Country, in which all the Natives do look upon themſelves as Gentlemen, and don't deſpair of being able to raiſe themſelves to the degree of *Grandees*, tho' few of them have arriv'd at it. And not knowing at that time of any way in which he would be ſo likely to aggrandize his Name, which was his Idol, as in that of Arms; he went into the Army, and having been in *Pomplona*, when it was Beſieged by the *French*, in the Year 1521, he had his Right-leg broken, and his Left ſhatter'd by a Cannon Bullet; and being made a Priſoner, the *French* uſed him very kindly, and ſet him at Liberty as ſoon as his Wounds were Cured. But being told when he returned to *Biſcay*, that his Bones were ſo ill Set, that if they were not broken and ſet again, he would be a Cripple all his Days; he choſe to undergo that painful Operation, rather than be diſabled by Lameneſs to purſue the Fame he thirſted after ſo much. Whilſt he was confined to his Bed, he deſired the People of the Houſe to let him have a Book to paſs away his Time. Inſtead of a Romance, which was the Book he deſired, the *Flos Sanctorum* was put into

into his Hand, which, but in another way, is the greateſt Romance that ever was written. But *Ignatius*, though he was not at all pleaſed with that Book when he ſaw what it was, there not being a Military Vice or Vanity to which he was not at that time addicted; nevertheleſs ſince he could have no other, he began to look into it; he had not read far in that Book, before, to his great Admiration, he plainly diſcovered, that there was a way of attaining to great Fame, that was both more effectual, and leſs dangerous than that of Arms: None of the Ancient Great Captains being ſo famous in Hiſtory, nor had any of them their Valiant Actions ſo Univerſally Read and Admired, as the Perſons were whoſe Lives were writ in that Book. Whereupon he did reſolve to purſue Honour, and an Immortal Name in that Way. And inſtead of returning to the Army as ſoon as his Leg was well, he did reſolve to go in a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, intending to take *Monſerrate* in his way, there to prepare himſelf for that Expedition. As ſoon as he was able to Ride, he mounted his Mule, but in the Accoutrements of a Soldier, and not in thoſe of a Pilgrim, and carrying his Martial Spirit, as well as his Sword and Dagger with him, he had killed a *Moriſco* he happened to overtake, for having ſpoke diſhonourably of the bleſſed Virgin, if he had not loſt his Way as he purſued that Infidel. Being come to *Mon-*

ſerrate, he ſpent ſome Days there in Confeſſion, and in Penances; and having given his Cloaths, which were very Rich, to a poor Man, he wrapped himſelf in a Plad of Sack-Cloth, which reached down to the Ground, and girt it about him with a Cord. And whereas his Right-leg did ſtill ſwell at Nights, he put a Shoe made of ſmall Wickers upon his Right-Foot, but for his Left-Foot, he would allow it no Shoe, becauſe it did not want one ſo much. Being thus accoutred with a Plad, and one Shoe, it came into his Head, That it was the Cuſtom of all Knight-Errants, on the Vigil of their Inſtallation into that Heroick Order, to watch all Night in their Arms in one Church or another; ſo he reſolved in imitation of thoſe Cavaliers, to uſe the ſame Ceremony: And not having it ſeems parted with his Sword and Dagger when he gave away his Military Cloaths, he went with them, and with a Battoon in his Hand, and watched all Night in a Church before the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin; and having in the Morning made a Vow of Chaſtity, he hung up his Sword and Dagger before that Image, to remain a Memorial of his having Dedicated himſelf to be the Bleſſed Virgin's Knight-Errant all his Days. By this we ſee, that *Don Quixot* knew what he ſaid, when for the Honour of Cavalry he told *Sancho* his Squire, *That not a few of the* Roman *Saints had been* Cavalero's Andantes;

or

or at leaſt are repreſented as ſuch by the Writers of their Lives.

The firſt Place *Ignatius* repaired to in queſt of Adventures, after he had taken upon him that Profeſſion, with all the uſual Solemnities, was *Monreſe*, a Town three Leagues from *Monſerate*, where having taken his Poſt in the Hoſpital, in Imitation of the ancient Knight-Errants, he did eat very little, and did ſleep leſs, and did lie upon the cold Ground; neither did he comb his Hair, nor pare his Nails, nor do any thing to himſelf that looked like Cleanlineſs; under which ſtrict Regiment, together with his Hair-cloath Plad, Rope, and ſingle Shoe, he made ſo ſad a Figure, that the *Cavallero de triſti Figura* himſelf, did not make a worſe.

He had not been long under this Diſcipline before he began to have Viſions; his firſt was a moſt ſplendid Spectre in the Air, which darted out abundance of Beams of various Lights, that were extreamly delightful to him; but thoſe pleaſant Lights had dark Effects, having raiſed Thoughts in his Mind, which ſaid to him, *Wretched* Ignatius, *by what evil Spirit wert thou driven out of thy own Country, and Family, from thy honourable Relations and Acquaintance, to wallow here in Naſtineſs among the Dregs of the People.* But though at firſt he was not much diſpleaſed with thoſe Words, yet having recollected

himſelf a little, he perceived by their Tendency, from whom they came; and by the Humility of running in among the Beggars, and Converſing with them more familiarly than he had done before, he did repel that Temptation. But the Enemy was not long diverted, and having returned, ſaid to him again, *Forlorn* Ignatius, *canſt thou at theſe Tears imagine that thou ſhalt be able to perſevere in this auſtere Courſe until thou are* 70, *for ſo long thou art to live.* On this Occaſion he repelled the Enemy, only by ſaying to him, but with great Diſdain, *Canſt thou add one Day to my Life?* The Enemy finding that *Ignatius* was not to be diſcouraged, he changed his Weapon, and told him, he could not think that he had mortified himſelf ſufficiently for ſo great a Sinner as he had been. Theſe Words brought ſuch a dark Cloud of Deſpair over his Thought, that he had thrown himſelf down headlong out of a high Window in the *Dominican* Convent, if it had not come into his Mind, that he had read of an ancient *Anchorite*, who had faſted away his Deſpair: So inſtead of breaking his Neck for a Cure, he reſolved not to eat nor drink any more until it was over; he faſted Seven whole Days, and whole Nights; without taking any manner of bodily Suſtenance, and would have gone on with that ſtrict Faſt, if his Confeſſor had not threatned to deny him the Communion, if he did not give it over. *Ignatius*

durſt

durſt not diſobey him, and ſo did take ſome Refreſhment, and was quiet after it. But this was only a Ceſſation, for on the third Day the Enemy returned again, and conquered him ſo far, that he came to a full Reſolution to give over his preſent loathſome Courſe of Life, and return to the World: And ſo hot he was upon that Change, that he had certainly made it, if he had not plainly diſcovered this to be a Strategem of the Enemy, whom he defeated by a firm Purpoſe as to Confeſſion, never to remember the Blots of his paſt Life any more.

Ignatius being after this in perfect Peace, as he was one Day walking by a River's Side, he found his Mind on a ſudden wonderfully enlightened, ſo that in a Moment, without the Aſſiſtance of a School-maſter, he beheld in a curious Looking-Glaſs not only all the the Myſteries of Faith, but all the ſubtil Queſtions, and Degrees of the Philoſophers; but having gone to a Croſs that ſtood near, to return Thanks for this prodigious Stock of Knowledge and Learning, he had come by ſo eaſily, and in ſo ſhort a Time, his former Spectre had the Impudence to appear to him again; but being near a Croſs, it was much leſs reſplendent than it was before: By the Help of his preſent profound Knowledge and Learning, he at firſt Sight knew it to be the Enemy, and was ſo far from being affected with it as he was before; that without ſay-

ing a Word to it, he did with great Diſdain threſh it ſo with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, that it vaniſhed away, and did never venture to appear to him any more. He had ſoon after ſo clear a Viſion of the Trinity, that he ſaw the God-head plainly in three Perſons, and in one Eſſence; and whilſt the Print of it was freſh upon his Mind, he writ a Book upon the Trinity.

Now there never having been any ſuch Book publiſhed that I can hear of, ſeems to be a ſhrew'd Evidence either of no ſuch Book's having ever been written, or of it not having been ſo extraordinary, as to be a plain Proof of its Author's prodigious Learning, or of his having ſeen its Subject diſtinctly in a Viſion. In another Viſion, he ſaw the whole Model by which the World was created; and in another an ocular Demonſtration of the Truth of Tranſubſtantiation, but he is not ſaid to have let any Cut of the former, nor to have writ any Book upon the latter. He had likewiſe frequent Extaſies, in one of which he lay ſo quiet from the Completory of one *Saturday*, to the Completory of the next; that being looked on by every Body as dead, he had been buried in that Extaſy, if one by chance had not found his Heart beat a little: His Fervors in Devotion were likewiſe ſo ſtrong, that he was ſometimes raiſed by them five Cubits off the Ground.

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The Fame of these Spectres, Visions, Extasies and Raptures, having been spread all over the Country, People flocked from all Parts to see, and to hear him; and he finding himself so much admired, he washed his Face, and combed his Hair, and pared his Nails, and gave over much of his former Nastiness, that he might not appear loathsome to those that came to see him. But as we shall see hereafter, he soon returned to his meritorious Nastiness again. But his being so much admired, had a worse Effect upon him than something of Cleanliness, for he found his old Passion of *Vain-glory* rising in him again, and to mortify it wholly, if that was ever done, did cost him much Trouble.

But whether it was or not, his Head was now full of beginning his Journey to *Jerusalem*, not with the common low Intention of other Pilgrims, only to visit the holy Places; but with an Heroick Resolution of Converting the *Turks*, which was a Province worthy of his Visions, and great Abilities. And having to that End gone to *Barcelona* to embark there for *Italy*, he had the good Fortune to find a Ship there ready to sail for *Cajeta*, and having met with the Master, he desired him to give a Beggar his Passage. The Master said he would, if he will find himself in Bread; but *Ignatius* judging it not to be consistent with the Poverty, he resolved to live in all his Days, would not agree to that;

and

and ſo would have loſt his Paſſage, if one that he confeſſed himſelf to, had not told him, that that was not inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt Poverty. So being ſatisfied of its being lawful for him to provide Bread for himſelf, he went from Door to Door to beg Money to buy him Bisket. And having ſoon got more than enough, to buy as much as the Maſter reckoned would be ſufficient, he left the overplus of the Money upon the Shore, when he embarked with his Bisket: He was but Five Days at Sea, which, if the unbelieving Maſter had pleaſed, he could have paſſed very well without any Bread; and without having met with any Adventure in that Voyage, was ſet a Shore at *Cajeta*. He met with a Lodging the firſt Night, in which he did much good upon ſome rude Soldiers that were quartered in it; but the Plague being very hot in *Italy* at that Time, no Town or Village afterwards would, by Reaſon of his looking as if he had the Plague upon him, ſuffer him to come in to them; ſo he was forced to travel from *Cajeta* to *Rome*, without meeting with a Lodging any where, or any Sort of Suſtenance. He was quite ſpent and famiſhed when he came to *Rome*, where after having recruited himſelf a little, he was for purſuing his Expedition; but the News having come to *Rome* at that time of the *Iſland* of *Rhodes* being taken by the *Turks*; ſome of his Country Men would fain have perſwaded

ſwaded him to have adjourned it to a ſafer Time, not knowing that to convert the *Turks* was his Buſineſs at *Jeruſalem.* But tho' they could not perſwade him to do that, they prevailed with him to take ſome Money, telling him, he would find no Doors in *Syria* to beg at; but his Money and he kept not long together, for being very much diſturbed at his having diſtruſted Providence ſo far as to carry Money about him, he had it in his Hand to have thrown it away with Indignation; but having ſome Wit in his Anger, he doubted whether that would not be a Prodigality, and for that Reaſon he kept his troubleſome Money, until he met with ſome Beggars, and diſtributed it all among them.

The Difficulties he met with in this Journey, were greater than thoſe in the Former, for he was not only kept out of all Towns and Villages, and ſo could not all the way have either Meat or Lodging; but the whole Country was ſo affrighted, that the Cry of the Country was, that he was not a Man but a Savage Monſter, and all the People were afraid to come near him; however being ſuſtained by Viſions, he got to *Padua*, and from *Padua* he went to *Venice*, where tho' they were very ſtrict at that time about the *Health*, they did ſuffer him to come into the City without asking him a Queſtion, notwithſtanding his morbifick Look. And having

ving obtained leave of the Duke to go aboard a Ship which was bound for *Cyprus*, the Sailors, for his having reproved them ſeverely for their Lewdneſs, conſpired to ſet him aſhore on an *Iſland* where there were no People; and they had done it, if they had not been hindred by contrary Winds from coming near that Deſert *Iſland*. Being got ſafe to *Jeruſalem*, he viſited all the Holy Places before he ſaid a Word to any body of his having come thither to convert the *Turks*; but the time for the Pilgrims to depart drawing near, he went to the Guardian of the *Franciſcan* Convent, and acquainted him with the Work he came into *Syria* to do: The Guardian told him, the Provincial would return from *Bethlehem* ſome Days before the Pilgrims did ſet out, and that he muſt ſpeak to him to have Leave to ſtay behind them. The Guardian ſpoke this ſo ſoftly, that *Ignatius* not doubting but that he ſhould have Leave to ſtay, did write Letters, which were to be ſent by the Pilgrims, to all his Friends in *Europe*. But having, when the Provincial was returned, gone to him to ask Leave, and acquainted him with his Purpoſe of Converting the *Turks*, the Provincial commended his Zeal very much, but ſaid, that was no proper time to go about that great Work; and *Ignatius* having perſiſted in deſiring Leave to remain at *Jeruſalem* that he might go about it, the Provincial told him, that

ſeveral,

ſeveral, who out of a good Zeal had lately ſet about that Work, had been either ſlain or made Slaves by the *Turks*; and that it had coſt the Convent great Sums of Money to ranſom ſome of thoſe Preachers out of the Gallies: But *Ignatius* not doubting, tho' others had miſcarried, that he ſhould ſucceed in that Enterprize, ſaid, if he might but have Leave to ſtay he would venture that: The Provincial ſeeing nothing elſe would do, told *Ignatius* plainly that he had Power from the Pope to excommunicate all that ſtay'd in *Jeruſalem* without his Leave, and which he was reſolved not to let him have.

Ignatius, who was the Pope's moſt humble Slave, after he heard that ſaid, he would not fail to return to *Europe* with the Pilgrims; however the Morning before the Pilgrims were to depart, it having come into *Ignatius*'s Head, that he had not obſerved *Mount Olivet* ſufficiently, without ſaying a Word to any body, and without taking a *Turk* for his Guard, for he had no Money to hire one, he aſcended that Mountain all alone, and having ſpent ſome time upon it in his Devotions, he forgot to make one Obſervation which he intended to make; it was, to which Part of the Heavens the right Foot-ſtep was, and to which the left; but having thought of it before he got to the City, he went up the Hill again to underſtand how that was.

Whilſt

Whilſt *Ignatius* was thus employ'd, the Pilgrims, which were to depart having been all brought together, and no *Ignatius* appearing among them, the Provincial concluded he had hid himſelf on purpoſe to be left behind; he therefore commanded an *Armenian*, who was a Servant in the Convent, to go and find him out and bring him along with him. Of ſo dogged a Nature was that *Armenian*, that tho' he met *Ignatius* coming back, he did fall upon him firſt with ill Words, and afterwards with dry Blows, to *Ignatius*'s great Joy in that Place, and did with his Club drive him before him as if he had been an Aſs, until he had brought him in among the Pilgrims.

The Day after this drubbing, a Diſcipline moſt Knight-Errants have met with at one time or another, *Ignatius*, as if he had been no better than an idle Saunterer to *Jeruſalem*, only to ſee the Place, was packed away with the reſt of the Pilgrims, before he had done any thing in the grand Affair which had brought him thither, having never ſpoke ſo much as one Word to any *Turk* to convert him; however he comforted himſelf with Hopes of Returning again to that his great Province, and of being able to adorn it. And having with the reſt of the Pilgrims got ſafe to the *Iſland* of *Cyprus*, they found three Ships there ready to ſail for *Italy*, one was a *Turkiſh*, which would have been odd at any time,

time, but was the more ſo at this, for the War they were in with the *Venetians*; the other Two did belong to *Venice*, one of them was a large ſtout Ship, the other was old and ſmall. The Pilgrims having bargained with the Maſter of the great Ship for their Paſſage, they intreated him to carry *Ignatius* for nothing, who, tho' he was a Beggar, they ſaid was a very great Saint: The ſurly Maſter ſaid he would not carry him, neither did he, if he was ſo great a Saint, ſtand in need of a Ship, ſince he might foot it over the Sea, as many Saints had done.

But *Ignatius* not thinking himſelf Saint enough to venture on that, ſince none of the Pilgrims were ſo charitable, or ſo deſirous of his Company as to pay for his Paſſage, he was forced to embark upon the ſmall old Veſſel; and it was well for that Ship that he did, for the *Turkiſh* Ship was in their Sight caſt away in a great Storm ſoon after they had weighed their Anchors, and the great *Venetian* Ship was in the ſame Storm daſhed to Pieces againſt Rocks; but *Ignatius*'s ſmall rotten Veſſel, tho' very much torn and leaky, got ſafe to *Apulia*, from whence *Ignatius* went to *Venice* moſt miſerably Weather-beaten, by Reaſon of his having been half naked all the Voyage, tho' it had froze and ſnowed hard all the Way: But having, when he came to *Venice*, met with a Country Man, he was kindly entertained by him for

ſome

ſome Days, and who at parting having offered him a Purſe of Money, *Ignatius* being now better reconciled to that, than he was before he went into *Syria*, he accepted of it, and of a Piece of Cloth likewiſe to cover his Stomach.

Ignatius's Money did burn in his Purſe, until he was got to *Ferrara*, but as poor as he looked, a Beggar having come to him there to beg an Alms of him, he gave him a piece of Money; and that Beggar having ſent other Beggars after him, before Night they had not left him a Farthing in his Purſe; ſo he was forced to go about the Street to beg Bread for himſelf; and having been met by ſome of the Beggars he gave Money to, they did cry him up as the greateſt Saint that had ever come into *Ferrara*. *Ignatius* not being at all pleaſed with thoſe loud Applauſes, did leave that City, and the ſooner it is like on their Account, and ſteered his Courſe towards *Genoa*, with an Intention to return to *Spain*.

Italy being at that time all in a Flame with the War, which was in it betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *French*, *Ignatius*'s Friends adviſed him not to travel in the great Roads, in which he would be ſure to meet with Soldiers, but to take the bye Ways; they that gave *Ignatius* that Advice either did not know the Profeſſion he had taken upon himſelf, or they did not know that the firſt Obligation of that

Pro-

Profeſſion is never to do any thing, in which there is any Appearance of the want of Courage: And for that Reaſon *Ignatius* ſlighted their Advice, and went into the moſt publick Road; in which he had not travelled long, before he fell into the Hands of ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who taking him for a Spy in a ſtrange Diſguiſe, they carried him to their Quarters, and ſearched all his Rags for Letters: And having met with none, they asked him what Intelligence he carried, threatning to carry him before their General if he did not diſcover it to them. *Ignatius* ſaid *he was no Spy; and that if they would but give him a Rag to cover his Nakedneſs, he did not care before whom they carried him.* They granted him that, and tho' they drove him naked before them, and the Soldiers as he paſſed by them, did all ſhout and hout at him, he rejoiced exceedingly, until he came to the Door of the General's Quarters, where he was in a great Perplexity how he ſhould carry himſelf before that great Man. For you muſt know, that having before his Converſion been as guilty as any Man of Complements, and of all the other Elegancies of Good-breeding; he was come to deteſt them ſo, that he had reſolved, no not with Princes, ever to uſe them any more. However, being at this time in a great Quandary, whether it would not be convenient for him to lay aſide his affected great Clowniſhneſs, and

to reſume his Natural Civility and Good-breeding: After having revolved that Matter over and over in his Mind, he did poſitively reſolve not to do it, and that for no other Reaſon but becauſe it would look as if he was afraid of the Face of Man. And having accordingly, when he was brought before the General, neither taken off his Cap, nor bowed his Body, the General asked him, *If he was not a Spy? Ignatius*, without any civil Preface to it, anſwered him, *I am not*; which were all the Words the General could draw from him: And who looking upon him as a Mad-man, did threaten the Soldiers to puniſh them for having troubled him with ſo loathſome a Sight; ſo he bid them drive him out, and let him go where he would. The Soldiers were ſo enraged with *Ignatius* for their General's being angry with them upon his account, that they did all fall upon him unmercifully, beating and kicking him in the Face and Sides until he was half dead: This was the worſt Adventure *Ignatius* had ever met with in all his Perambulations, but it is probable it did him ſome good; for after this we hear no more of the Quakeriſm, or affected Ruſticity of his outward Man; but for the Quakeriſm of his inward Man, and for his Heroick Valour called Fool-hardineſs, by thoſe that are no nice Judges of Honour, this, nor nothing elſe but Death could ever cure him of them: For notwithſtanding

ſtanding all the ill Uſage he had met with for having kept the publick Road, and that he did know certainly that if he went on in it he ſhould, before he got to *Genoa*, meet the *French* Soldiers, whom he might have avoided if he had gone but a little way about; yet rather than incur the Diſhonour of being ſo great a Coward, as out of Fear of them to break the way to an Army, he went on in it, and having been, as before, apprehended as a Spy by ſome *French* Soldiers, he was carried by them to their General to be examined by him; but that General and his Soldiers were all ſo civil to him, that he travelled through their whole Army without having either a Blow or an hard Name given him. The Reaſon perhaps of the *French*'s being ſo much civiller to him than the *Spaniards*, might be the *Spaniards* having taught him a little Good-breeding, or at leaſt having made him grow weary of his affected Clowniſhneſs, before he came up to the *French*.

Having thus forced his way through two great Armies, *Ignatius* entred *Genoa* Triumphantly, though almoſt quite naked; and having there met with a Ship bound for *Barcelona*, he embarked upon her, and did narrowly eſcape being taken by a *Turkiſh* Pirate.

Being now in his own Country again, and intending to ſtay in it, he was at a very great

loſs how to diſpoſe of himſelf: His firſt Intention was to turn Monk, and to have planted himſelf in a Monaſtery, whoſe Diſcipline was much relaxed, on purpoſe to reform it; but the narrow Bounds of a Monaſtery appearing to him, upon ſecond Thoughts, to be a Theatre infinitely too little, for one of his Capacities, he reſolved to have the whole World for his Theatre; And to qualifie himſelf yet farther to act his Part upon it with Honour: The firſt Step that he made upon that Stage, if he had been of any other Profeſſion, would have been extreamly ſurprizing; for can any thing be more ſo, than to have one who underſtood all the Myſteries of Faith, all the little ſubtile Queſtions and Decrees of the Philoſophers throughly, and who had alſo writ an admirable Book upon one of the greateſt of thoſe Myſteries, and had farther ſeen the Original Model of the Creation, and had gone to *Jeruſalem* upon his judging himſelf to be able to convert all the *Turks*; at the Age of 33 to go to School and ſit among the Boys of the loweſt Form, to learn his Accidence. But in Men of his Profeſſion nothing is wondered at, unleſs it be for being common and ordinary with other People.

But how conſiſtent, or inconſiſtent ſoever *Ignatius*'s going to School was, with what has been ſaid before of him; there being a good *Latin* School at that time in *Barcelona*, he did

did put himſelf to it; and not knowing one Word of *Latin*, he ſat in the Form with the little Boys who were learning their Accidence. But though in the School he followed his Book very cloſe; and unleſs it were when he made Excurſions to preach, did never play Truant; he was not able to maſter the difficult Inflections of the Verbs and Nouns. There were ſeveral viſible Cauſes of his being ſo great a Dunce at his Book; one great one was, his Head being ſo full of Speculations and Viſions, that there was little Room in it for any thing elſe: Another was, his going from Door to Door to beg all the Bread that he did Eat: And a third was, His Excurſions to Preach to the People. His Mind was alſo much diverted from his Book by the Enemy, who at this time furniſhed it with great Lights, and did lay many Myſteries open before it.

But as dull as *Ignatius* was at his Accidence, he was ſo nice a Diſcerner of Spirits, that he ſoon underſtood from whom all thoſe Lights did come: and to repel them and the Enemy that furniſhed him with them, he earneſtly entreated his Schoolmaſter, whoſe Name was *Ardelabo*, to meet him at a certain Hour, at a certain Church: *Ardelabo*, though he was it is like grown weary of Teaching ſo great a Blocked ſo long for nothing, was ſo kind as to meet *Ignatius* there, and who having before he ſaid a Word to his Schoolmaſter, thrown

himſelf down at his Feet, he earneſtly begged of him, *That he would ſuffer him to come to his School for two Years, or for a longer time, if it ſhould be found neceſſary*; beſeeching him farther, *Always to exact the ſame Task from him; as he did from the Boys that were in his Form; and if at any time he found him Sloathful, for to Correct him in the ſame manner that he did the Boys that were ſo.* *Ignatius* had two great Benefits from this Submiſſion, the great Humility that ſhined in it, having chaſed away the Enemy, and all his Lights with him; and his Schoolmaſter was ſo much affected with it, that he did promiſe to do for him all that he had deſired.

After this, *Ignatius* went on better with his Book than he did before, and having been adviſed to read a Book of *Eraſmus*'s, which would be a great help to him in his *Latin*, he had read but a little way in it, before he began to find the Spirit of Devotion to cool in him, ſo he threw it away, and would never look any more in any of that Author's Books, and did afterwards prohibit all the Members of his Society, ever to look any more in any of them. When he went firſt to School, he left off his Sackcloth, and did not ſpend ſo much time in Devotion, and in Diſciplining himſelf as he had ſpent before; his Cloaths were nevertheleſs very coarſe, and that the Shoes he wore might not appear to have any thing of Oſtentation in them, which would not have looked

looked well in one that begged his Bread from Door to Door, he bored their Soles full of Holes, ſo that tho' he did ſeem to wear Shoes, he did in effect go bare-footed in Froſt and Snow. We are not told how long he ſtay'd at the *Latin* School in *Barcelona*; but having been told by a Learned Man, that he had *Latin* enough to go to the Univerſity, tho' he did not think ſo himſelf, yet rather than put an Affront upon ſo Learned a Man's Judgment, he did leave the School, and having got four Companions of his own Stamp, he went with them to the Univerſity of *Complutum*, and did there according to his Cuſtom, take up his Quarters in the Hoſpital; and having begun the Study of the Arts, he ſoon found they agreed worſe with his hot Head, which could not dwell long upon any thing, than the Inflexions of the Verbs and Nouns; leaping ſo faſt from one thing to another, that he was never likely to know any of them otherwiſe than confuſedly and ſuperficially. His Studies here had all the ſame Hindrances which they had when he went to School, and his Heat after Preaching was grown ſo ungovernable, that he was almoſt continually Preaching about the Streets. The effects his Sermons had on the Minds of his Auditors were of ſo Enthuſiaſtical a Strain, that many did ſuſpect him of being a Conjurer, and which having been obſerved by the watchful Inquiſitors, they had an Enquiry

made very ſecretly into his, and his Companions Lives and Doctrins; and which Enquiry being committed to the Arch-deacon of *Toledo*, all that he did upon it at Preſent was to require *Ignatius*, and his four Companions, not to wear the ſame ſort of Cloaths, nor of the ſame Colour, as if they were about to ſet up a new Sect. But *Ignatius* having gone on Preaching ſtill, to the viſible Prejudice of his Freſhman's Studies, he was within four Months brought under a Second Inquiſition, by reaſon of a Lady, and her Daughter, who were his conſtant Auditors, having taken a Figary in their Heads, to go on foot, and viſit all the Hoſpitals in *Spain*, and to miniſter in them to the ſick and poor People. And tho' *Ignatius* when they acquainted him with that their Intention, did diſſwade them from it; yet they having left their Family to look after its ſelf, and gone on foot in the Habit of Beggars to the City of *Jean*, which was many Miles from *Complutum*, *Ignatius* was blamed for it by all their Relations; but above all by Doctor *Criolus*, who was Guardian to the young Lady; and who having gone to the Arch-deacon in a great Rage, he told him, that if that ſtrange Fellow, meaning *Ignatius*, were ſuffered to go on Preaching, he would turn the Town of *Complutum* upſide down, and that he had already infuſed ſuch Whimſeys into a young Ladies Head, who was a great Beauty, that he had ſent her to ſtrole about

bout the Country a foot in the Habit of a Beggar. Upon this Information, the Arch-deacon did order *Ignatius* to be thrown forthwith into Goal, and to be put in Chains, out of which *Ignatius*, I ſuppoſe at the Window, did continue to preach ſtill; and a Learned Man having heard him, when he returned Home he ſaid, he had now heard St. *Paul* Preach in his Chains. But the Arch-deacon had not it ſeems ſo high an Opinion of his Sermons, who did ſtrictly forbid him, or any of his Companions to preſume to preach for the ſpace of four Years, and not then neither, if during that time they did not apply themſelves cloſely to ſtudy Divinity.

Ignatius, who would have burſt if he had been four Days without Preaching, knowing that it would not be poſſible for him to obey this Sentence, he and his Companions did forthwith leave both *Complutum*, and the Dioceſs of *Toledo*, to go to the Univerſity of *Salamanca*, where he did hope he ſhould be allowed the Liberty to preach.

And having taken *Valedolid* in his way, he waited on the Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, who was there at that time; that Arch-biſhop is ſaid to have entertained him kindly, and to have encouraged him to go on Preaching, giving him ſome Money when he took his Leave of him. We may ſee by this, that *Ignatius* was fallen from two of his Firſt meritorious Auſterities; that of not being able to endure Money,

ney, and that of a ſingular Clowniſhneſs; for if he had not been cured of the Laſt, he would never have had Money, nor no Countenance from that Arch-biſhop, who is noted in the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*, for a Man of great State and Haughtineſs.

But notwithſtanding the Encouragement he had from that great Arch-biſhop to go on Preaching, he had not preached long at *Salamanca*, before he was taken to task for it by the *Dominicans*, tho' they had no Authority to do it; and who having one Day ſlily invited him, and one of his Companions to Dine with them, after Dinner the Vicegerent of the Convent, and a Friar of it, who was *Ignatius*'s Confeſſor, begun to talk with him about his Preaching; the Vicegerent ſeemed to wonder at his Preaching ſo well, and asked him, how *he and his Companions came by that extraordinary Talent? Ignatius*, imprudently, tho' very truly anſwered, *It was not by Learning, for there was not any Learning among them. No Learning*, ſaid the Vicegerent, *why do you offer to Preach then? Ignatius* reply'd, *They did not Preach, but did only ſet before the People the Beauty of Vertue, and the Deformity of Vice. But how can you do that well*, ſaid the Vicegerent, *without any Learning, unleſs you be inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt? Ignatius*, who would never anſwer any Body to that, was ſtruck dumb; and being urged vehemently by the Vicegerent to tell him, whether he believed he was

divinely

divinely inſpired or not, all the Anſwer *Ignatius* would give him was, *We have talked enough of it.* *Say you ſo,* ſaid the Vicegerent in a great Paſſion, *in this time of new Lights, and new Sects, do you thus decline giving an Anſwer to this Queſtion; I will have one from you I'le promiſe you, before you and I do part.* *Ignatius* anſwered, *I ſhall be ready to give an Anſwer to that Queſtion, when it is put to me by one that has Authority to ask it, and which you have not.* *It is well,* ſaid the Vicegerent. And having detained him and his Companions two Days in the Convent, on the third Day, the Arch-deacon of *Salamanca* came with his Notary to give *Ignatius* a Viſit there; and having brought him under a ſtrict Examination, he did at laſt, after the Example of the Arch-deacon of *Toledo*, forbid him, and his Companions to Preach any more for four Years. It is obſervable, that none of the Jeſuits that ſpeak of this Examination, do ſay one Syllable of that Arch-deacon's having put that Queſtion to him, which he came to examine him upon: But inſtead of that they tell a long Story of his having examin'd *Ignatius* concerning the Differences betwixt a Mortal and a Venial Sin; the Reaſon is pretty plain, why they take no notice of that Queſtion's having been put to him, which was, That it might not be upon Record, that *Ignatius* had once owned that he was not divinely Inſpired, and which he did undoubtedly

ly at this time; for if he had not, he would not have been at liberty to have left *Salamanca* so soon.

For *Ignatius* finding that he should never be suffered to preach quietly in *Spain*, did resolve to leave it, and go into *France*, where he hoped he might meet with more Favour: And being now Master of an Ass, and of a few Books, away he trudged with them to *Barcelona*, leaving his four Companions behind him, but with a Promise to send for them to come to him, if he met with any Encouragement at *Paris*. *Ignatius* and his Ass being got safe to *Barcelona*, his Friends there were very much against his going into *France*, which was at that time in a War with *Spain*: But whereas it would have been a great Disgrace to his Profession, to have been hindred from doing what he had a mind to, by any prospect of Dangers, go he would, notwithstanding all that his Friends could say to dissuade him. However, being now very well reconciled to Money, he accepted of some that was offered him, and of Bills too for Money to be paid him at *Paris*, where being arrived, he began his Studies again, and went for eighteen Months to the *Latin* School; and tho' he was then nine and thirty Years Old, did learn his Book at it among the Boys. He afterwards went to the University, and stay'd at it until he took his Master of Arts Degree, having been maintained

tained there by ſome Penſions from *Spaniſh* Merchants, living in *Flanders* and *England*, to which Countries he went once, in the time of a long Vacation, and procured thoſe Penſions. At *Paris* he was once under the Examination of a *Dominican* Inquiſitor, for having, as it was called, infatuated ſome Boys, and not long before he left that Univerſity, he was, for the ſame Fault, either publickly whipped, or was very near it.

When he left *Paris* he returned to *Biſcay*, where he had extraordinary Honours done him. From *Biſcay* he went to *Barcelona*, with an intention to go to *Venice*, where the Companions which he had pickt up at *Paris*, had promiſed to meet him; three of the four which he had left in *Spain*, having returned to the World. At Sea he had like to have been taken by *Barbaroſa*; and at Land, before he had got to *Venice*, he had the moſt dangerous Adventure he had ever met with before, having gone ſo far among the *Appennine* Mountains, that he found himſelf at laſt in a Place, in which he was like a Knight-errant in an inchanted Caſtle, for he could neither go backward nor forward; ſo he was forced upon all four to clamber over ſome high Mountains all cover'd with Snow, which were on one Hand of him, and when he was got down into the Valley, he found the Mire there ſo deep and ſtiff, that he had like to have laid his Bones in it. And to compleat

the

the Misfortune of this Adventure, as he was going into *Bononia*, he tumbled off a Bridge into a Moat full of Mud; and so far were the wicked Spectators from pitying of him, that they raised a horse Laugh to see him in so sad a Pickle. At *Venice* he was met by some of his *Paris* Companions, and having been there admitted into holy Orders, he went with two of his Companions to *Rome*, having had an extraordinary Vision by the Way. At *Rome*, being now every where famous for his Visions, the Cardinal *Contarenus*, and Doctor *Ortezius*, the *Spanish Imperial* Minister at that Court, who were both great Scholars, and profound Statesmen, did of a sudden enter into a very particular Friendship with *Ignatius*, who was neither the one, nor the other. Having now brought *Ignatius* into such a Wise and Learned Company, I shall leave him in it, and not say any more of him, and shall only desire Leave to offer a Conjecture, upon the Thing which I conceive might recommend *Ignatius* to the intimate Acquaintance of those two great and able Men.

From the time I first read the Life of *Ignatius Loyola*, writ not by a barbarous blundering Legendary, but by *Maffeius*, one of the politest Writers of his Learned Age, I was never able to perswade my self, that a Constitution made with so preat Sagacity and Penetration, as that of the Jesuits Order is, could be the Work of *Ignatius*; whose Head, by all his other

other Actions, appears plainly to be unſettled and roving, and continually too full of Viſions and Whimſeys, to be capable of any Depth of Thought; and as I am apt to think that it was *Ignatius*'s known Incapacity to frame ſo artificial a Model, that did firſt put it into his Friends Heads, that he drew it by Inſpiration: So in Truth were I certain it were his Work, I ſhould be inclinable to believe the ſame, and that he was enabled to draw it by thoſe great Lights, he ſaith were ſo often communicated to him by the Enemy. But if that politick Model was not *Ignatius*'s Work, as I can never think it was, but the Work of wiſer and more compoſed Heads; the Men of all others the moſt likely to have framed it, were his two forementioned Friends, the Cardinal *Contarenus*, and Doctor *Ortiz*, who were both great Scholars and able Stateſmen, and wonderfully devoted to the Service of the Papacy, to which, againſt the Reformation, the Society of the Jeſuits was erected to be a Bulwark. And whom, not long before that Conſtitution was publiſhed, we find very buſy about *Ignatius*, as ſoon as he came to *Rome*: Doctor *Ortiz*, tho' he was the *Spaniſh Imperial* Miniſter in the Papal Court at that time, having left all his Publick Buſineſs there, to accompany *Ignatius* to the deſert Mountain of *Caſſenati*; and where he remained with him alone forty Days, which was time enough for *Ignatius*, if he

he had a fair Copy of that Conſtitution laid before him to write it over, that it might be ſhewed to the World under his own Hand. And as that Cardinal and Doctor, did both underſtand the World too well, not to know that that Conſtitution would anſwer the End, for which it was made, much better, if it were believed to have been written by one that was divinely inſpired, than it would if it were known to have been framed by the Skill of State Engineers; ſo *Ignatius* having come to *Rome* full of Viſions, and being believed by the Generality of the People to be divinely inſpired; when they met with him there, they met with a Man for their Purpoſe, and ſo might make uſe of him accordingly; and to which Conceit, *Ignatius* being looked on as one that was naturally ſhatterbrained, the Belief of his having drawn up ſo wiſe a Conſtitution would much contribute; as did alſo his having been, not long before that Conſtitution was publiſhed under his Name, in Imitation of *Moſes*, carried by Doctor *Ortiz*, to the Top of a high Mountain in a Deſert, and kept there juſt forty Days. The Popes have likewiſe done their Part to poſſeſs the World with an Opinion, of *Ignatius*'s having been divinely inſpired in the forming of the Society of the Jeſuits. *Paul* the Third indeed, ſpeaking of *Ignatius* and his Companions in his Confirmation of that Order, ſpeaks modeſtly of them,

them, saying they were, *Spiritu Sancto, ut creditur, afflati:* That *it was believed that they were inspired by the Holy Ghost*; but *Julius* the Third leaves out, *ut creditur*, or *as it was believed*, and says positively they were inspired by the Holy Spirit. And *Gregory* the Thirteenth saith expresly that *Ignatius* was inspired in the modelling of the Society of the Jesuits. There is likewise a Book of Exercises published under *Ignatius*'s Name, and which is said to have been Written by him before he learned his *Accidence*, on purpose to confirm the Conceit of his having been inspired; and we have seen how it is said of *Ignatius*, that he was very backward to own to any body that questioned him about it, that he was not inspired, long before any besides himself, did suspect him of being so.

Whether this Conjecture has any Grounds or not, I shall leave to the Judgment of all that have narrowly observed the whole Course of *Ignatius*'s Conduct, and withal the deep Policy of the Constitution of the Order of the Jesuits, and do not believe *Ignatius* to have been inspired; and which I think none do besides the Popes, and the Jesuits.

The Words of St. *John* in the Third Verse of the Ninth Chapter of the Revelation, which are, *And there came out of the Smoak Locusts upon the Earth, and unto them was given Power, as the Scorpions of the Earth*

have Power, are by many Learned and Pious Men, apply'd to the Monaſticks in the *Roman* Church; but whether truly or not, I ſhall leave to the Determination of thoſe who have thorowly ſtudied that divine Book, but however that may be, in this View of the Monaſticks in the *Roman* Church, their Numbers appear to be prodigiouſly great; and that to the great Prejudice of all *Roman Catholick* Princes, beſides the Pope, and of all *Roman Catholick* Countries, beſides the City of *Rome*.

Firſt, All *Roman Catholick* Princes are great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monaſticks which they have in their Dominions; who do in a manner loſe juſt ſo many Subjects, and the Fruits of all their Labours, as there are Monaſticks within their Territories, over whom and their Eſtates, they have little or no Authority.

Secondly, All *Roman Catholick* Countries, are by many ways great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monaſticks which they have in them.

Firſt, For being by that means much leſs populous than they would otherwiſe have been, and tho' many will not underſtand it, the real Strength, Wealth and Glory of a Nation, conſiſts chiefly in its great Number of People. *Secondly*,

Secondly, By the Lands which belong to the Monaſticks, and which are very great, not contributing any thing towards the Support of the Government, and whoſe neceſſary Expences, do for that Reaſon fall very heavy upon the other Lands.

Thirdly, By the begging Monaſticks, who are Numberleſs, being an inſupportable Burden to the Farmers, Fiſhermen, and Gardiners, *&c.* by whom they are maintained, with that which they can many times very ill ſpare from their own, or their Families Mouths.

Fourthly, The Poor that are not able to work, are extreamly wronged by them, by exhauſting the Charities which ſhould maintain them; it is true, the Poor who do live in the Neighbourhood of great and Rich Monaſteries, are relieved by them; but as they are but few in Number, in compariſon of the whole Poor of a Country; ſo ſuch Monaſteries like Forreſts, do by affording ſuch ſmall Reliefs, fill their Neighbourhood with Beggars, or with a Lazy ſort of People, who if they had not had thoſe ſmall Conveniencies, would have work'd, and by their Work, have lived much better.

Laſtly, By the great Sums of Money which are by the Monaſticks carried daily to the Court of *Rome*, for the tranſacting one Buſineſs or another, which they have depending in that Court.

But there is not any Order of Men that ſuffers ſo much by the Multitudes of Monaſticks, as the Biſhops, and their Parochial Clergy.

The Biſhops by that means, having great Numbers in their Dioceſſes in holy Orders, who are not under their Juriſdiction; and who do, upon their Papal Exemptions and Privileges, often give the Biſhops great Diſturbance; and for the Parochial Clergy, the Monks have robbed them every where of the Main of the great Tithes: And the Mendicant Friars do rob them of the Main of their Offerings; neither can they ever be certain of preſerving what they have. For whereas there are ſeveral Orders of Monks, whoſe Lands are by the Pope all made Tithe-free; ſo if any of the Lands which do pay great Tithes to the Parochial Clergy, do happen to be given to any of thoſe Monaſteries, the Tithes are all loſt to the Incumbent; ſo that in Truth, that prodigious Wealth that is in the *Roman* Church, is very unequally, if not unjuſtly diſtributed. The Main of it lying in the Court of *Rome*, and in Monaſteries, the Benefices of the Parochial Clergy in that Church being com-

commonly ſo ſmall, that, tho' they have no Families, they can hardly with great Frugality live upon them.

And as there is no Order nor Degrees of Men in *Roman Catholick* Countries, that are not great Sufferers by the multitudes of Monaſticks which they have among them, ſo in truth the Monaſticks themſelves are not to be envy'd for their leading very eaſie Lives: For notwithſtanding they are eaſed of the Labours of Work, which if they had not been Monaſticks they muſt have undergone or have ſtarved; yet they have that among them, beſides their Auſterities, which does commonly render their Lives very uneaſy; which is fierce Feuds and Animoſities, raiſed among them chiefly by their being divided into Parties about the Elections of their Superiours, and other Officers, which Poſts are commonly coveted by them all, with more Fierceneſs and Eagerneſs than Court-Offices are by Courtiers; and the Party that is ſo unhappy as to loſe the Election, is until the next, kept under a Diſcipline, or rather a Tyranny, ſo inſupportable, that keeps their Heads continually at work to ſtrengthen their Party ſo as to be able to carry the next Election; by which means moſt Convents are kept in a perpetual Storm. Thus after they have taken care not to have any trouble from the World, they do create Troubles to themſelves, and greater than the World perhaps would

ever have given them, being more uneaſie in their Stately Convents, and where they have all the Neceſſaries of Life, without taking any Care or Trouble provided to their Hand, than they would have been in their Fathers Cottages, and if they had gone to Plough all their Days : And as the Evil of Uneaſineſs is too common in the Convents of Men, ſo it is much more in the Convents of Women, where the ſtrict Clauſure, the humour ſome Arbitrary Government of a Peeviſh old Abbeſs, and twenty Things more, do cauſe the generality of Nuns to be the moſt uneaſy Women in the World; and of which, to their great Misfortune they are ſeldom ſenſible, before it is too late to remedy it, and to their great Sorrow they do know it to be ſo; moſt of their Uneaſineſſes being made much the more painful, by their having no manner of Hopes of ever ſeeing an End put to them, by any other way than by the cold Hand of Death. It is true, it may be ſome Conveniency to the Heir, and to the other Children, to have ſome of their Siſters condemned to Nunneries, whoſe Portions may be divided among them; but unleſs it be in Caſes, where their Portions muſt have been very Conſiderable, there is not ſo much ſaved by that as is generally believed: For as few, or no Nunneries will receive any unto them without a good Sum of Money; ſo if they have not, after they are profeſs'd Nuns, ſome yearly

yearly Allowance from their Friends, they will live ſo poorly that few Parents if they knew it, would be contented with their Childrens living ſo.

That all Princes and People, are politically very great Sufferers by the Multitudes of Monaſticks which they have among them, is too Manifeſt to be deny'd by any Body. The thing therefore that is offered in Anſwer to that plain Truth, is, that the Monaſticks, by their Prayers, and Auſterities, do procure Bleſſings from Heaven, for the People among whom they live, which do more than countervail all thoſe political Inconveniencies.

Now were this certainly known to be true, it would be a very great Injuſtice, any more to mention thoſe political Incommodities to the Diſadvantage of the Monaſticks; but if it will very well bear a Queſtion, as I think it will, *Whether God be commonly more devoutly, or more acceptably obeyed or worſhipped by thoſe that are fettered by Monaſtick Vows, than he is by holy Maſters and Miſtriſſes of Families, and by other ſerious Chriſtians, who are under no other Vows but their Baptiſmal*; thoſe political Incommodities may be ſtill ſtrongly objected to the Monaſticks: And as the Devotion of thoſe that are not under the Monaſtick Vows, has more in it of a free Will-offering; ſo their Obedience to the divine Law, has in it many uſeful and acceptable Parts which the

Monaſticks cannot have. And the Truth is, conſidering how the Generality of the Monaſticks, Men and Women are, whilſt they are young, by their Parents or other Relations, either driven, or wheedled into the Monaſtick Courſe of Life, or do in Diſcontent leap into it blind-fold, without any Appearances of a ſetled inward vital Principle of Devotion; that no ſuch Principle does ever appear in the great Body of the Monaſticks, to the rendring of the religious Offices lay'd on them, by their ſeveral Rules, a weary Burden to them, is not to be wondred at. Farther, were the Prayers of Monaſticks ſuch powerful Engines beyond other Peoples, for the drawing down of Bleſſings from Heaven, as they are confidently ſaid to be. The raiſing of the Siege of *Vienna*, having been in my hearing, attributed by a Friar to the Devotion of ſome unknown Monaſtick or other; is it conceiveable that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, by whom fervent Prayer was for that Reaſon ſo much inculcated, ſhould not, if they had not inſtituted, at leaſt have highly recommended the three Monaſtick Vows, for that their extraordinary Uſefulneſs; and were this Matter referred to Experience, I doubt it wou'd be given againſt the Monaſticks; the Countries they ſwarm the moſt in, having for a long time been Poor, Feeble and Improſperous; and of all thoſe Miſeries their great Numbers of Monaſticks,

naſticks, do naturally appear to have been one of the chief Cauſes: And of this, the Civil Governments in thoſe Countries are indeed ſo ſenſible, that they have made Laws, againſt the Building of any more Convents, without a Royal Licenſe. But, if there be no Oppoſition to it, from any envious or emulous Monaſticks, the Licenſe is ſo eaſily obtained, that thoſe wiſe Laws do ſignify little; a very ſmall, if any Stop being put by them, to the encreaſing of that Evil, which they ſuppoſe to be of very dangerous Conſequence to the Publick. For whereas the Models of all new Monaſteries, have one pretended Miracle or another for their Foundation; ſo that Pretence does very much expedite the Royal Licenſes; for what a feeble thing muſt the Authority of Humane Law be, to wreſtle with the Almighty Power that is in a Miracle, or which is the ſame, a thing that is believed to be ſo, on Monaſtick Evidence; which in all ſuch Caſes is the very worſt Evidence in the World; and how can it be otherwiſe, being, tho' it is falſe, reckoned meritorious, for the good End it has in its Eye, the Building of a new Convent.

The End of the Fifth Tract.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the chief Cauſe of the Succeſſes of the Nations,

By which the

ROMAN EMPIRE

Was pulled Down.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

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AN ESSAY ON THE

Countries, Religion, Learning, Numbers, Forms of Government, and the Chief Cauſe of the Succeſſes of the Nations, by which the Roman Empire *was pulled down.*

THE *Saxons*, having been by the *Greeks* and *Romans* reckoned Superiour to all other barbarous Nations, as they were pleaſed to call them, for Wit, for Strength of Body, and the Enduring of the Toils of War, I ſhould be unjuſt to our Anceſtors, if I did not give them the Precedency here.

They were Originally a People in the *Cimbricus Cherſoneſus*, and did live all along the Eaſtern Coaſt of the *German*, and the Southern Coaſt of the *Baltick Seas*. They were divided into ſeveral Nations, as the *Angli*, who lived in the Country where the City of *Sleſwick*

Sleſwick is now; the *Jutæ*, the *Heruli*, the *Verni*, the *Vandali*, the *Longobardi*; and to which, the *Scoti*, may, I believe, be added.

The *Saxons* having more Wit and Courage than their Neighbours, might think it hard that the wiſeſt and braveſt Men ſhould have the worſt Countries; ſo they invaded the *Friſij*, and having made themſelves Maſters of their Country, which was, *Freezland*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, &c. or of all the Sea-Coaſt at leaſt, they wiſely incorporated themſelves with that Nation, and by that means they became ſtronger than they were before. And which the greateſt Conqueſts do never make any People, but rather the Weaker, if the Natives be totally deſtroy'd, or drove away, or be preſerved, but ſtill as a diſtinct People, from thoſe that conquered them.

The *Saxons* finding, that the employing of their Strength by Land againſt their Neighbours the *Gauls*, who were ſupported by the *Romans*, did turn to no Account, they applied themſelves wholly to the Sea, of which they had now a very long Coaſt. And on that Element, *Oroſius* ſaith, they were terrible, both for their Courage and their Agility; and being abſolute Maſters at Sea, they frequently viſited the Coaſts of *Gaul* and *Britain*; where having made Deſcents, they plundred the Country, returned Home, laden

den with Spoils. And tho' they now and then met with Blows aſhore, at Sea they were in no Danger but from Storms; by this Means the Sea-Coaſt of *Britain* was better known to the *Saxons* than to the *Britains* themſelves, long before they were invited by the *Britains* into it.

Of all the *Saxons*, or at leaſt of all thoſe that conquered the Southern Part of *Britain*, the *Angli* were the moſt conſiderable; and which Conqueſt, was, for that Reaſon called *England*, after their Name.

The *Scoti* are generally believed to be *Iriſh*, and to have come from *Ireland* into *Britain*. But tho' it is certainly true of the *High-Land Scots*, who to this Day ſpeak the *Iriſh* Language, the *Low-Land Scots* do ſeem to have been a *Saxon*, or *German*, and not an *Iriſh* Nation. And that for three Reaſons:

The *Firſt* is, Its being manifeſt from the *Notitia Imperii*, that there was a *German* Nation called *Attacoti*, and who are by *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaid to have together with the *Scoti* much moleſted *Britain*. Now, beſides the Affinity which there is betwixt theſe two Names, the *Scoti* and *Attacoti* are ſpoke of by that Contemporary Learned Hiſtorian, as Neighbours and Confederates.

Secondly, The *Scoti* are by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, believing them to be a *German* People, called *Goths*.

But

But the *Laſt*, and chief Reaſon is, The *Saxon* Language being ſpoken all over the *Low-lands* of *Scotland*, to the moſt Northern Part of the Iſland. The very Name *Scotland*, and the Names of its Metropolis, and of its other great Towns and Counties, are plainly *Saxon*; and which could not have been, if that Country had not been Peopled by a *Saxon* Nation; no, not if they had conquered it, if they had not peopled it too: For tho' a Conquering Sword can change the *Religion*, the *Government*, and the *Laws* in its Conqueſts, their Languages will not be changed by it, whilſt the Conquered do continue to be the Body of the People. So the *Britains* having been all either deſtroyed, or driven into a Corner of the Iſland, and their Country Peopled by *Saxons*, the *Saxon* Language came of courſe into it; whereas the *Normans*, who did likewiſe conquer *England*, and did all that was in their Power to have brought the *French* Language into it, were not able to do it; and the Reaſon was, becauſe the *Engliſh* did, under the *Norman* Government, ſtill continue to be the Body of the Nation; few *Normans*, beſides thoſe that were in their Armies, having come to ſettle themſelves in *England*.

So for the ſame Reaſon the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Suevi*, tho' they conquered *Spain*, were not able to bring their Language into it; nor the *Franci* into *Gaul*, nor the *Longobardi* into

into *Italy*, their Languages, in defiance of their Swords, having been vanquiſhed ſo by the Languages which they found in thoſe Countries, as to be quite loſt in the Second Generation. And in truth, the *Saxons* were the only Conquerors that brought their Language to be the Language of their Conqueſts, and to which they gave their Name alſo; as all the reſt have done, except the *Gothi* and *Suevi*. *Gaul* having been called *France*, from the *Franks*; the Southern Part of *Spain*, *Andaluſia*, or *Vandaluſia*, from the *Vandals*; the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, *Lombardy* from the *Longobards*; one Part of *Pannonia*, *Hungary*, from the *Huns*; and another Part of it *Sclavonia*, from the *Sclavi*: The *Normans* likewiſe gave the Name of *Normandy* to that Part of *France* which they conquered, but were not able to change the Name of *England*. The *Saxons* gave the Name of *Waliſh*, that is *Gauliſh*, to the *Britains* that remained, and from thence they came to be called *Welch*, and their Country *Wales*. The ſame Name was given to the *Ciſalpine Gauls* by the *Lombards* when they conquered them; and to this Day the People of that Country are called *Walſh* by the *Germans*,

But if the *Britains* were by the *Saxons* called *Welch*, or *Wallaiſh*, to ſignifie they were Foreigners or Strangers, as many ſay they were; it is a notable Inſtance of how

little a Superiour Power is concerned, whether what it ſaith be reaſonable or not.

Tho' we are not told when the *Low-lands* of *Scotland* were Conquered and Peopled by a *Saxon* Nation, call'd *Scoti*; yet ſince we do no where read of the *Saxons*, by whom the Southern Parts of *Britain* were Conquered, having ever Conquered, and much leſs Peopled thoſe Northern Parts of it; there is great Reaſon to believe that it muſt have been done before the Time of that Southern *Saxon* Conqueſt; and that the *Scoti* ſpoken of in *Britain* before that time, were thoſe *Saxons* who having deſtroy'd the *Picti*, whom I do reckon to have been the *Northern Britains*, did, in proceſs of time poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe *Low-lands*.

Neither is *Ireland* having been formerly called *Scotia Major*, any Proof to the contrary: For as it is by later Hiſtorians that *Ireland* is called ſo, ſo it is moſt probable that *Ireland* in latter times had that Name given it to diſtinguiſh it from the *Scots High-lands* which retained its Language, Habit, and Cuſtoms, and which having been conquered, tho' not Peopled by the *Scoti*, had come to be called *Scotland*.

But tho' I am at preſent fully perſwaded that this is the true Account of the Origine of the *Low-land Scots*; yet if any of the Learned Perſons that are of another Opinion, will but ſhew how the *Saxon* Language could be

be brought into that Country without its having been Peopled by *Saxons*, it will go a great way towards the bringing me over to them. The Time when the *Scoti* came firſt into the *Low-lands*, and the *Iriſh* into the *High-lands* being unknown to me, I ſhall leave the Settling of that time to thoſe who have looked into the Ancient Records of that Kingdom; tho' I cannot but ſay, that Genuin Records, reaching to their Origine, are ſcarce Commodities in all Nations, tho' there are few or none that do not pretend to have them.

The *Goths* were a People of *Scythia*, on the North-ſide of the *Euxine Sea*; but having in Proceſs of Time flitted, or removed from thence to *Boryſtenis*, and the Mouths of the *Iſter*, they were there divided into *Oſtro-Gothi*, or *Eaſtern-Goths*, and *Viſi-Gothi*, or *Weſtern-Goths*; and having been driven from thoſe Seats by the *Huns* and *Alans*, they had leave from the Emperor *Valence* to ſettle themſelves in *Thracia* and the adjacent Countries, as Confederates of the *Roman Empire*; and it was out of thoſe Parts that the *Goths* did come, who made that Name ſo Famous by their great Conqueſts. I know there is a Royal Argument for the Conquering *Goths* having been a People of *Denmark*, and of *Sweden*, and of the adjacent Iſlands. The Sovereign Princes of thoſe two Kingdoms, having upon that Suppoſition, taken upon

them the Title of the King of the *Goths*. But tho' Crowns are great Things, Truth is greater, and which being more likely to be found in Contemporary Hiſtorians, than in Heralds, it muſt not, being met with in them, be ſacrificed to any Deferences: Not that there might not be a People in thoſe Northern Countries which were called *Goths*; but ſuppoſing there was, it is pretty certain that they were not the Famous *Goths* who erected the Great Monarchy in *Spain* and *Gaul*; and of this *Magnus Gothus* was ſo ſenſible, that without any tolerable Authority he will have his Country *Goths*, to have Conquered and Peopled *Scythia* to the very *Palus Meotis*, and to have been the Anceſtors of the *Goths*, which came many Ages after from thoſe Parts, and did raiſe that Name ſo high. Beſides, that there is no Authority for all this, it has a natural Improbability in it, that renders it almoſt incredible: Which is, That People ſhould go ſo far, and toil and fight ſo much for no other purpoſe, but that they might ſettle themſelves in worſe Countries than their own, which they left. And if *Gothi* be a Corruption of *Getæ*, as probably it is, their firſt Country will be found about the *Euxine*, and not near the *Baltick Sea*, notwithſtanding the Iſland that is in it, and the Country that is near it, called *Gotland*, or *Gutland*, for ſo they are called by their Inhabitants. Now, whether *Gor*, or *Gut*,

Gut, in the beginning of thoſe Names, was derived from the *Goths*, or from ſome other Word, I ſhall leave to the Enquiry of thoſe who underſtand the *Swediſh* Tongue: But this I am ſure of, that in *Engliſh* there are Names that begin with *Goth* and *Got*, as *Gotheridge*, *Gothill*, and *Gotacre*, that were not called ſo from that People, but were, I ſuppoſe, called ſo from the Word *God*, or the Word *Good*.

The *Vandals*, of whom the two fore-mentioned Princes do likewiſe ſtile themſelves Kings, were not of any of their Countries, tho' they were much nearer to them than the *Goths*; the *Vandals* being a Nation of the *Saxons*, and did all live on the South Side of the *Baltick Sea*.

The *Franci* were ſeveral *German* Nations, who lived on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Lower-Rhine*; and who having Confederated together, did all take upon them the Name of *Franci*, or *Freemen*; thereby declaring, That they were reſolved to periſh, rather than become Tributaries to the *Romans*, as their Neighbours the *Gauls* were.

The *Suevi* were a great *German* People on the *Upper-Rhine*; reaching from the top of that River, to the River *Albis*; they and their neighbouring Nations did take on them the Name of *Alamans*, much about the ſame time, and with the ſame generous Intention that the *German* Nations on the *Lower-Rine*, took

took on them the Name of *Franci*; and as if they reckoned, that a conquered People did not deſerve the Name of *Men*, by that new Name of *Alamans*, or *All-men*, they declared they would die, rather than be conquered.

The *Longobardi*, called ſo by the *Romans*, for their *Long Beards*, were a *Saxon* Nation, who lived in that Country which is now called *Brandenburg*; and who having in *Italy* conquered *Gallia Ciſalpina*, did give it the Name of *Longobardi*, now *Lombardy*.

Beſides theſe I have mentioned, there were Twenty *German* Nations more, but which having all long ago ſunk into ſome of the fore-mentioned, I thought it was needleſs to name them here.

The *Sclavi* were a People that lived in the Countries, which are now called *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and it is very plain from their Language, and which is ſpoke to this Day in thoſe Countries, that they were no *German* Nation; in proceſs of time they either conquered, or ſlipt into *Sclavonia*, and the Countries about it; when the former Inhabitants had left them in a manner, and were gone with the *Goths* in queſt of better Countries: Many of the *Sclavi* having been taken, and made Bond-men in the Time of *Charles* the Great, did in *France*, and in other Parts, give the Name of Slaves to all Bond-men.

The

The *Huns* were an *Asiatick Scythian* Nation, who lived beyond the *Palus Mæotis*, as did the *Alans* also, who having been beat by the *Huns*, joyned with them when they swarmed into the *European Scythia*; where driving the *Goths* before them, they advanced as far as *Pannonia*, and having fixed their Seat there, did give it the Name of *Hungary*.

The *Gauls* were for Numbers and Extent of Land, the greatest People we read of any where; for of that Nation I do reckon the *Spaniards*, *Britains* and *Irish*, to have been, no less than the Inhabitants of the two *Gallias*, one of which is now called *Lombardy*, and the other which is now called *France*, did reach from the *Atlantick Ocean*, to the *Western* Banks of the *Rhine*. And whose Language is spoke no where now but in *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and in those Countries in Dialects so different, that I am told the *Welsh* and *Irish* do not understand one another.

Of the Religion and Learning of theſe Countries.

SUCH of theſe Nations as were *German*, did all ſpeak the ſame Language, and worſhip the ſame Gods; the Memory of four of which Gods is ſtill preſerved, in all Parts where the *German* Tongue is ſpoke, in the Names of Four of the Days of the Week; to wit, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday* and *Friday*. *Verſtigan* will have the other three Days of the Week to have had their Names likewiſe from the Three *German* Gods, *Sun*, *Moon* and *Seater*: But conſidering, that theſe Days among the *Romans* did bear the Names of the ſame Three Gods; it is more probable that the *Germans* had thoſe Names from the *Romans*, than that the *Romans* had them from the *Germans*.

In their Worſhip they were all involved in the Inhumanity of offering Men, Women and Children alive in Sacrifice to their Gods; in which, tho' it was an abominable Barbarity, they were ſo far from being ſingular, that it was the Practice of the *Gauls* likewiſe, and at one time or another of all the Idolatrous Nations on the Earth; and we ſee that to keep the *Jews* from it, was not an eaſy Matter.

For Learning it does not appear that they had any, no not ſo much as the Knowledge of

of Letters; tho' a certain Romantick Writer, will have them to have been great Masters in the *Pithagorean* Philosophy; but tho' they had among them no Clergy or Learning, it appears from their excellent Constitution of Government, that they wanted not Mother-Wit, or true Wisdom. The Laws brought by them into their Conquests, which were the Feudal, are likewise a plain Proof, that tho' they wanted Learning, and for that Reason were called *Barbarians*, by the Nations that abounded with it; yet that they wanted not Policy.

The *Huns* and *Alans* who were *Asiaticks*, are by *Jornandes* said to have had no Religion nor Superstition, or if they did worship any God, that it was their Sword to which, sticking it in the Ground, they did use to pay some Reverences.

The First of these Nations that turned Christian, were the *Goths* and *Suevi*; but they having been converted to that Faith by *Arian* Bishops, sent to them by the Emperor *Valens*, who was himself an *Arian*, did long adhere to that Heresy, but were converted from it about an hundred Years before their great Monarchy in *Spain* was destroy'd by the *Moors*. The *Franks* were likewise converted early, and in Process of Time the *Saxons*, and all the rest of these Nations; and notwithstanding before several of their Conversions, Christianity was corrupted with a Mix-

a Mixture of divers Heatheniſh Superſtitions; its true and genuine Doctrines, were nevertheleſs ſo powerful, as to mollifie their natural Ferity and Savageneſs very much, and to civilize their Manners in all the Relations of Life.

Of theſe Nations great Numbers.

IT has been long a Matter of ſome Wonder, how the barren Countries out of which the Swarms of Men came, that lighted ſo heavy on the *Roman Empire*, ſhould then be ſo much more fertil of People, than they have ever been ſince; and this prodigious Fertility having been looked on as a thing certain, there have been divers Speculations about the Cauſes of it. It is by *Mariana* attributed to two Things, the one is the *Northern* People being, by reaſon of the Cold of their Climate, more prolifick than the *Southern*; and the other is promiſcuous Veneries having been in uſe among them. The Firſt is no Reaſon at all, for thoſe Countries being then more populous than they are now, the Climate being ſtill the ſame, and as cold as ever it was. And the Second, however it may appear in Speculation, does ſeem to have Experience againſt it. The Countries in which Plurality of Wives, and pro-

promiſcuous Venery are allowed, being obſerved not to be ſo populous, as the Countries where both thoſe Liberties are prohibited.

It was the finding it not to be eaſy, to give a ſatisfactory Reaſon for this ſuppoſed extraordinary Fertility, that firſt led me to examine the Evidences upon which it has been ſo generally believed; and upon as ſevere an Enquiry as I was able to make, thoſe Evidences did not appear to me to be ſtrong enough, to make that Matter indubitable, and that for the three following Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe unleſs we knew the certain Bounds of thoſe Countries, and which we are very far from knowing, we cannot judge by the great Armies that went out of them, whether they were extraordinary populous, or no: For tho' a Country that is certainly known to be ſmall, having ſent forth great Armies, is a Proof of its being very populous at that Time; it is no Evidence at all, of a vaſt Country's being ſo.

Secondly, Becauſe tho' the chief Nation in thoſe Expeditions did bear the Name of the whole, yet ſince ſeveral neighbouring Nations, the Extent of whoſe Lands is not known, might joyn with them in the forming of thoſe great Armies; as in Fact they did, their having caſt ſuch great Swarms, can be no Evidence of their having been extraordinary populous.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, If in thoſe Countries, all that were fit to bear Arms went into the Armies, as it is very probable they did, their Armies might be as great as any of them are ſaid to have been, and yet their Countries not have been very populous: Conſidering, how by reaſon of their ſimple, ruſtick, and frouſy Way of living, they had few or no Artificers or Trades-men among them; and who in polite Countries, are a great Part of the People; ſo that they had none among them, that had Strength enough to carry Arms, that were not fit to uſe them; having been all bred up to Hunting, and to other man-like Exerciſes, which fitted them for Soldiers. Beſides, great Multitudes of Women, and who are ſaid to have been as warlike as the Men, went along with thoſe Armies; and who, whether they fought or not, would to the Eye make them look more numerous, than they would have looked otherwiſe. Neither have we any Reaſon to think, that the Perſons from whom we have the Accounts of the Numbers that were in thoſe Armies, did ever either muſter them, or tell them, but did gueſs at their Numbers by their own, or other Peoples Eyes; and there is not any thing our Eyes ſo groſly impoſe on us in, as in Numbers, which if great, are judged by the Eye to be double to what they are. Now adding to all this, that thoſe Countries have in them at this Time, many great

great Cities and Towns, filled with Artificers and Trades-Men, and which they had not then; one may, I think, venture to affirm, that it was not unlikely that they have more People in them now, than they had in thoſe Days, tho' not ſo many that are fit for Soldiers: For it muſt be no great Country now, that has not 200000 Men in it, ſtrong enough to carry Arms, and that was the Number of one of the greateſt of thoſe Armies, and which we have Reaſon to believe was taken by the Eye, and not by the Poll, and that Provinces were emptied ſo by their having gone out of them, that if double that Number of People went out of the ſame Provinces now, they would leave more behind them. So the High-lands of *Scotland*, tho' they are by much the leaſt populous Parts of that Kingdom, yet by Reaſon of the ſame ſimple and courſe way of Living, and their Peoples being bred up to the ſame Exerciſes, will in Proportion to their Numbers, preſently furniſh more that are fit to be Soldiers, than the more populous Low-lands; and it is for the ſame Reaſon the ſame with the *Iriſh*, and the Provinces in which they are planted.

Of their Forms of Government.

TACITUS in his Book *De moribus Germanorum*, gives the following Account of the *German* Form of Government.

De minoribus rebus Principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen, ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem Arbitrium est, apud Principes pertractentur: coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum & subitum inciderit, certis Diebus, cum aut inchoatur Luna aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc Auspicatissimum initium credunt: Nec Dierum numerum ut nos, sed Noctium computant, sic constituunt, sic condicunt, Nox ducere Diem videtur; illud ex Libertate Vitium, quod non simul nec jussi conveniunt, sed & alter & Tertius Dies Contatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut Turbæ placuit, considunt Armati; Silentium per Sacerdotes, quibus tum & coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox Rex vel Princeps, prout Ætas cuique, prout Nobilitas, prout decus Bellorum, prout Facundia est, audiuntur; Authoritate suadendi, magis quam jubendi Potestate: Si displicuit Sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: Honoratissimum assensus genus est Armis laudare.

Eliguntur in iisdem Conciliis & Principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt.

About lesser Matters their Princes consult together, but about the greater they all do; but

but ſo that the Things of which the People have the Deciſion, muſt be handled by the Princes: They aſſemble themſelves together, if they be not hindred by ſome ſudden Accident, on certain Days, and which are the Days either of the new or full Moon, reckoning them to be the moſt lucky for the diſpatching of Buſineſs: Neither do they count Time as we do by Days, but by Nights; and do conſtitute and appoint ſo, as if the Night were before the Day. One Fault of their Liberty is, that they will not aſſemble being commanded, nor come all together at the ſame time, ſo that two or three Days are loſt by the Slowneſs of thoſe that are to meet; thoſe that are in Arms do ſit as pleaſeth the People, and Silence is commanded by the Prieſts, who have a coercive Power in that Caſe. Firſt, the King or Prince ſpeaketh, and after him the reſt, according to their Age, Nobility, Glory in War or Eloquence, but with an Authority of perſwading, more than with the Power of commanding; if what is ſpoke be diſliked, they reject it with Hiſſing; but if approved of they knock the Benches; but the moſt honourable Way of giving their Aſſent to any Thing is by ſhaking of Arms.

In thoſe Councils the Princes or Counts are likewiſe choſen, who are to adminiſter Juſtice over the Country.

From

From this Account two Things are plain: *First*, That the *Germans* had all Kings. *Secondly*, That the Authority of their Kings was bounded by Laws.

And as this was their Form of Government in their own Countries, it continued to be so in all their Conquests; neither indeed could it well be otherwise, considering that the Armies by which those Conquests were made, were not like the Armies now-a-days, composed of People which have been either Pressed into them, or that come into them for so much a Day; but were composed of Nobles, and other Free-men, who came into them voluntarily as Adventurers, and whose Reward for their Service, was to be their Share of the Spoils of their vanquished Enemies. Now this having been plainly the Condition of those Conquering Armies, is it conceiveable, that in their Conquests, their Princes should offer to reward the great Services of such Soldiers, or rather Adventurers, with changing their Condition from that of Free-men, to that of Bond-men, the Subjects of Arbitrary and Lawless Princes being no better; or that if their Princes had offered to have made such a strange Change, that they would have suffered them to have made it. For since it is much more eligible to be Free-men in the Worst Countries, than Bond-men in the Best, must not the *Saxons* have fought here to good Purpose, if for having Con-

Conquered the *Britains*, they had been rewarded with their having had ſuch a Change made in their Condition. But it is not only unreaſonable to think that there was any ſuch Change made at that time, but in Fact it is certain that there was not. For in *England* and *Scotland* that *German* Form of Government remains to this Day; neither has it been long out of *France* and *Spain*, and in which Kingdoms there are ſtill ſome Remains of it.

By the way, to diſcover the true Reaſons why the *Europeans* have always been, ſo much more than the *Aſiaticks*, for being governed by ſtanding Laws, made by their own Conſent, rather than ſolely by the Wills of their Kings, would be an acceptable Curioſity, if any would be at the Pains to gratifie the World with it. But to return,

Now this being conſidered, is it not a great piece of Confidence in any that are for bringing *England* under a Commonwealth Form of Government, if there be any among us ſo mad as to think of it, to aſſume to themſelves the Honourable Title of *True Engliſhmen*; and have they, who would make our Princes Arbitrary and Abſolute, any better Right to that Title: Since it is plain, that the *Angli* were perfect Strangers to both thoſe two Forms of Government.

Tho' *Tacitus* ſaith nothing of it, it is probable the *German* Monarchies were all Elective, and did continue ſo for ſome time in all their Conqueſts. Some of which having in proceſs of time juſtly grown weary of that Form of Government, by reaſon of the violent Diſſentions and Tragical Strugglings that do commonly attend ſo great Elections, they made their Crowns Hereditary, but ſo, as not to allow their Princes, after that, any more Authority than they had before, whilſt they were Elective; the Legiſlature having been ſtill continued by them, ſo in the King, Nobles, and People, that no Law could be made, ſuſpended, and repealed but with their common Conſent.

By the way, I cannot but note here, That the *German* Cuſtom of reckoning Time by Nights, and not by Days, of which *Tacitus* takes notice, has a Proof ſtill remaining in our Language, in which a Week is called a *Sennight*, or *Seven Nights*.

The Government of the *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, was the ſame with the *Germans*, ſo that great Monarchy, which was erected by the *Goths* in *Spain*, did continue Elective, and limited by Laws made by the King, Nobles, and People, from the time of its Foundation, until its Fall. And till of late Years the Monarchies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* were Elective. Neither was that Form of Government ever freely changed, for being Inconvenient,

nient, by the States of thoſe Realms, but by the Violence and Subtilty of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And it would have been no ſmall Happineſs to the Proteſtant Religion in general, if our King *James* the Firſt would have underſtood that the Monarchy of *Bohemia* had been ſo.

Of the Chief Cauſe of the Succeſſes of the Barbarous Nations.

THREE Things, beſides the Divine Ordination, did viſibly contribute much to the *Roman Empire*'s being pulled down, when it was, by the barbarous Nations.

The *Firſt* was, the Diviſion which was made by *Conſtantine the Great* of that Empire, among his Sons.

The *Second* was, the great Convulſions, into which it was thrown frequently, by the tumultuary Elections of divers Emperors in diſtant Places.

The *Third* was, its Bounds continuing to be ſtill of the ſame vaſt Extent, after it had not Strength left to defend them.

But there was a *Fourth* Thing, that in my Opinion did contribute more to its being pulled down, than any of the former; which

was, the barbarous Nations having been about that time Inſtructed by the *Romans* in all the Arts and Diſcipline of War, without which, the greateſt Bodies of Men, tho' in their Perſons never ſo Brave, are not able to grapple with leſſer Numbers, perſonally not ſo Stout, Cemented together by good Order.

It may indeed juſtly be queſtioned, Whether the *Saxons* that Conquered *Britain*, whoſe Force lay chiefly in a *Sea*, in which the *Romans* had no Fleets, did ever learn any thing of Military Diſcipline from them. But ſuppoſing they did not, they needed it not much in the Conqueſts which they made; in which they had not *Roman* Armies to fight with, there being few *Romans* left in this Iſland when they Conquered its Southern Parts, but *Britains*, who underſtood as little of Military Diſcipline as they did: Beſides, that there was a good deal of Treachery in that Conqueſt, and for that Reaſon the leſs of War in it. And as to the fighting Part, it was the ſame with the *Scoti* and the *Britiſh Picti*; but with the barbarous Nations which invaded the *Roman Empire* in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, it was quite otherwiſe. In all which Countries, they met with Armies they would not have been able to have grappled with, if they had not had Diſcipline among them.

The *Romans* were undoubtedly too Wiſe a People, not to fore-ſee of how ill Conſequence it

it might be to them to have Great and Fierce Nations, who underſtood nothing of War beſides down-right Blows and Fighting, inſtructed in its Stratagems, ever to have taught them, if they had not been forc'd to it, and would probably, rather than have done it, have contracted their Borders to ſome Proportion with the remaining Strength. But when the Intereſt, Security, and Honour of the Empire came to be ſo little conſidered, that they were all, at every Turn, ſacrificed to the Ambition of the Pretenders to it; thoſe Pretenders did, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt their Rivals, as they had Opportunity, take great Numbers of the barbarous Nations into their Armies, and in which they gladly taught them the Diſcipline of War.

A ſmall Door was indeed opened to this Evil, by the wiſe Emperor *Auguſtus*, who being afraid to truſt the *Romans* with his Perſon, who he knew were generally diſpleaſed with the Change he had made of their Government, did take *Batavians* for the Guard of his Body. That Emperor did likewiſe, and perhaps for the ſame Reaſon, take into his Armies ſuch great Numbers of Remote *Gauls*, that *Tacitus* ſaith it was become a Saying among them, *Nihil validum in Exercitibus* Romanis *niſi quod externum: That nothing was Stout in the* Roman *Armies that was not Foreign.* And the Emperor *Claudius*, who never did a wiſe Action in

his Life, was ſo fond of thoſe People, that he preferred them to the *Romans*. But tho' this might not be very ſafe, it was nothing ſo dangerous as what was done afterwards; theſe *Barbarians* having all lived in Countries which had been Conquered by the *Romans*, and who having all lived for ſome time under their Government, might have felt it ſo eaſie, as to be willing to fight to ſupport it. But it was quite otherwiſe with the Unconquered Barbarous Nations, who were on the *German* ſide of the *Rhine*; who after they had learnt the *Roman* Military Diſcipline, and had been ſhewed how much better Countries *Italy* and *Gaul* were, than their own; it was not at all likely, that they would fight long for any but themſelves; or that they would be long contented with their Native Cold Climates, and Barren Soil, after they found themſelves ſtrong enough to help themſelves to better.

The firſt, that I read of, that made uſe of the Unconquered *Germans* in great Bodies, was *Conſtantine*, there having been many Battalions of *Alamans* and *Franks* in the Army, wherewith he Fought and Vanquiſhed *Maxentius*. And *Magnantius*, who was himſelf a *German*, but had fought long in the *Roman* Armies, when he ſet up to be Emperor, had in his Army many more *Germans* than *Romans*. And *Gratian* having, whilſt he was a Child, been raiſed to the Empire by the great Power of

of *Merodates*, a *German* Captain, he filled both his Court and Camp with *Germans*.

After it had been thus in the *Weſtern Empire* for ſome time with the Unconquered *Germans*, it came to be the ſame in the *Eaſtern* with the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, in the time of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, who to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt *Maximus*, did take great Bodies of thoſe Nations into his Armies; and having with their Aſſiſtance ſubdued his Rival, he preferred their Chieftains to the higheſt Civil and Military Poſts; for which piece of Gratitude the *Roman Empire* paid dear ſoon after.

Stilico, who was a *Vandal*, and by whom the *Goths* were firſt encouraged to Invade the Empire, was ſo much in *Theodoſius*'s Favour, that he married him to his Niece, and truſted him with the chief Command in the *Weſtern Empire*. And *Arbogaſtes* a *Frank*, who did treacherouſly procure the Name of Emperor for one *Eugenius* keeping the Authority of it to himſelf, was ſo far truſted by *Theodoſius*, that he appointed him to be Governor in the *Weſt* to the young Emperor *Valentinianus*. And *Alaricus* the *Goth*, by whom *Rome* was ſacked not many Years after *Theodoſius*'s Death, was ſhewed his way into *Italy* by the *Romans*, with whom he had marched twice into it from *Pannonia*, as a General, in *Theodoſius*'s Armies. In a word, at the time when the barbarous

Nations did ruſh in upon the *Roman Empire* on all Sides as ſo many Torrents, all, or moſt of their Leaders had been Captains in the *Roman* Armies, and in which moſt of the Soldiers likewiſe that followed them, had ſerved as Auxiliaries, and who had all by that means come to underſtand the Diſcipline of War, and which they might never have done, if it had not been taught them by the *Romans*.

Thus, to uſe the words of a Prophet, *The Ravenous Birds of every Wing, that picked out the Eyes of the* Roman *Eagles, were hatched Soldiers by them*; and who having deſtroyed the *Roman Empire*, did make way for the Erecting of that *Empire* in its place, of which St. *Paul* ſpeaks in the 2d Chap. of his 2d Epiſt. to the *Theſſalonians*, where, by, *He that now letteth*, the *Roman Empire* was plainly meant. For if that *Empire* had to this Day continued as entire as it was when the Apoſtle writ that Epiſtle, the Papal Empire could never have ſprung up in its Metropolis. And for that Reaſon, the firſt Chriſtians did uſe to tell their Perſecutors, *That they were ſo far from being Enemies to the Empire, and its Stability, that they prayed fervently to God for its Preſervation; knowing from their Prophecies, but namely from the abovementioned, That whenever the preſent Empire was deſtroyed, another would ſpring up in its Seat, that would be more cruelly Antichriſtian.* And was ever any Prophecy more viſibly fulfilled,

filled, or were any Fears ever juſter than thoſe derived from that Prophecy; and which made the Firſt Chriſtians, tho' Perſecuted for their Religion by the *Roman Empire*, to pray fervently for its Continuance, as a leſſer Evil, than that which was in proceſs of time to ſucceed it: Infinitely more Chriſtian Blood having been ſhed by the *Papal Empire*, and its Agents, for not complying with the Idolatry of its Worſhip, than ever was ſhed by *Rome* Heathen.

The End of the Sixth Tract.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

CANONS

OF THE

Council of *Sardica*,

Particularly on that which Relates to

APPEALS to *ROME*.

By *MICHAEL GEDDES*, L. L. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Sarum*.

And their Lies caused them to Err. Amos 2. 4.

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THE

Introduction.

HAVING long had ſome Suſpicion, That the Canons which have for many Ages paſſed Currant under the Name of the Council of Sardica, *were not made by that Council, but were forged many Years after, and fathered upon it, to help them to Credit: I did wiſh earneſtly, that ſome able Eccleſiaſtical Antiquary would undertake to Sift thoſe Canons, more narrowly, than I take them to have been either by the* Greeks, *or by the* Proteſtants.

And to that end, in the Appendix to my Diſſertation on the Papal Supremacy, *I did publiſh that my Suſpicion to the World, and did afterwards ask a very Learned Man what his Thoughts were of thoſe Canons. And though I cannot ſay, that he gave any Encouragement to that Suſpicion; yet not having offered any thing that I felt*

ſtrong

ſtrong enough to remove it, I ſhall here modeſtly ſet down the Grounds on which it ſtands; leaving them to be Improved, or Deſtroyed, with that Indifferency which always attends a Love for Truth, without any Mixture in it of an Affectation of Singularity, or of any other Partial Ingredient.

A N

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

CANONS of the Council of *SARDICA*, &c.

AS it was visibly to *Rome*'s being the Metropolis to the Empire, that the Bishops of that City did owe all the Pre-eminencies that were bestowed on them by the Primitive Councils; so it was that *Principatus*, as *Irenæus* calls it, and its necessary Concomitants, such as oppressed Ecclesiasticks fleeing to *Rome*, for to have Relief from the *Imperial* Authority, that first filled the Heads of the *Roman* Bishops with the Ambitious Fumes of their having such a Superiority over all other Churches, that there lay an Appeal from them to their *See*, as to the Supreme and last Ecclesiastical Judicature.

The great Authority and Dignity of the Pontifex *Maximus* in *Rome* Heathen, and the Bishop

Biſhop of that City, after it was become Chriſtian, reckoning that that High Office had naturally divolved to him, was one of the firſt and ſtrongeſt Seeds of the Papal Ambition. So that in truth it was not Chriſt and the wide Propagation of his Goſpel, but *Numa* and the *Romans* great Conqueſts that laid the Foundation of the *Roman* Biſhop's Pretences to a Supremacy over all his Brethren, and that it was ſo, the Biſhops of *Rome* having aſſumed to themſelves the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and holding it to this Day, is a plain Evidence, not that the *Roman* Biſhops having taken upon them that Title, when it was juſtly dropt by the Chriſtian Emperors, who had too long retained it, was a thing improper; no not tho' they had, by virtue of it, laid claim to the Precedency of all other Biſhops within the *Roman Empire*, provided they had kept it upon that its true Bottom; and this I believe they would have done, if the Seat of the Empire had never been removed from their City. For tho' it is true, that before that Tranſlation of the Seat of the Empire, another ground for that Pre-eminence had been mentioned; it is more than probable, that that ground did ariſe ſo out of the former, that the Story of the firſt of the Apoſtle's having been Biſhop of *Rome*, had never been dreamt of, if the Chriſtians after they were grown numerous in that City, had not begun to think, that after the Examples of the

the Heathens in it, their Biſhop ought to be the chief Pontiff of their Religion. But to enter upon the buſineſs of *Appeals*.

What was done by the Emperor *Conſtantine* the Great in *Donatus*'s Cauſe, when he fled from *Africk* to *Rome* for Succour, viſibly ſubverts the very Foundations of the Papal Claim to Appeals: *Melchiades* Biſhop of *Rome* at that time, having done nothing in that Affair but what he did by vertue of a Commiſſion from that Emperor, and who joyned Three Biſhops more with him in it as Judges; and *Donatus* having Appealed to that Emperor againſt the Sentence of thoſe Biſhops, the Emperor called a Council of Biſhops at *Arles* in *France*, to review their Sentence, and to do *Donatus* Juſtice.

Neither did what happened in the Caſe of St. *Athanaſius*, when he fled from *Egypt* to *Rome* for Relief, as he had done ſome Years before to *Conſtantinople*, when the Emperor was in that City; it being very plain, that the thing that carried him thither, was to ſeek for Relief from an Emperor, who profeſſed the Faith for which he was ſo much perſecuted, having been Depoſed and Excommunicated for it by the *Arians*. And having after he was at *Rome* prevailed with the Emperor *Conſtantine*, who adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, to write to his

Brother *Conſtantius*, who was a Bigot for *Arianiſm*, that a Council of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Biſhops might be aſſembled together in ſome convenient Place to hear his Cauſe. Such a Council was accordingly agreed on by the two Emperors, and which having met at *Sardica*, a City on the Frontiers of both their Dominions. St. *Athanaſius* after a full hearing of his Cauſe was acquitted by the Orthodox, and major part of that Council; but was condemned by that Part of it which had retired to *Philippi*, and by whom, *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* was Excommunicated for having held Communion with him.

Note here, that tho' the Biſhop of *Rome* on this Occaſion was Excommunicated, and that unjuſtly too by the *Arians*, yet that they are not for having done that, nor for any of their other Oppoſitions to the *Roman See*, ever charged by their Adverſaries with *Hereſy*; and which they would certainly have been by *Athanaſius*, and the other Orthodox Biſhops, if they themſelves had believed the *Roman* Church to have had a Supremacy over all other Churches.

It is true, *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who after his Emperor's Example, firmly adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, was very kind to *Athanaſius* when he was in the *Weſt*, and did him

him all the good Offices that were in his Power; as indeed what Biſhop will not do ſo, to other Biſhops being cruelly perſecuted for the Faith which they Profeſs. It is true alſo, that it is natural for People that are oppreſſed, to be too forward to allow their Friends all the Power that they will pretend to, though without any juſt Grounds, that they may be able to ſuccour them the more. And yet I don't find that *Athanaſius* was ſo far charmed with *Julius*'s Civilities to him, as to be guilty of that common Weakneſs, having no where intimated, that the thing which had carried him to *Rome*, was to *Appeal* to the Biſhop of that *See*, as to the Supreme Eccleſiaſtical Judge. But what *Athanaſius* himſelf did not, an Officious *Roman* Hand did for him long after his Death: It was the ſame with Pope *Julius*, who for not having ſaid enough that looked that way, had long after his Death two Letters forged under his Name, in which there is enough ſaid of it.

But it was not by Foreign Eccleſiaſticks, unjuſtly perſecuted, having fled to the *Principatus*, or the Imperial Authority in *Rome* for Relief, that the Biſhop of that City's Creſts were firſt raiſed; but by Eccleſiaſticks fleeing thither, who had been juſtly Excommunicated by their own Biſhops.

And as ſuch were willing to make the *Roman* Biſhop their Friend, as one that might do them ſome kindneſs with the *Imperial Principatus*, on which he could not but have ſome Influence; ſo for their own Benefit, they were forward to allow that Biſhop the Authority of receiving *Appeals* from all other Churches. And as that was natural for ſuch Delinquents, ſo the *Roman* Biſhops did value themſelves too highly on the *Imperial* Supremacy of their City, not to make uſe of that Handle; and after the putting in of a Claim to that Juriſdiction was got once into their Heads, to Encourage the making of ſuch *Appeals* they oftentimes ſhewed too much Favour to ſuch Delinquents: But to fall on the Buſineſs in Hand.

The Story of the Council of *Sardica*, is a dark and perplexed piece of Hiſtory: By ſome it is ſaid to have been aſſembled by *Conſtantine* the Great; by others, by his Sons *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*; by ſome, and of which Number was the great St. *Auſtin*, it is ſaid to have condemned the *Nicene Creed*, by others to have renewed and confirmed it, and by others not to have meddled with it at all, nor with any thing elſe but *Athanaſius*'s Cauſe; by ſome it is ſaid to have conſiſted but of 68 Biſhops, by others of 250, by others of near 300,

by

by others of above 300; ſo that in truth there is nothing that concerns it, that is very certain. But it is not my Buſineſs here, to enquire into the Merits of that Council, but to enquire only, whether the Canons which have paſſed currant ſo long under its Name, were made by it or not.

Now by whom or whenſoever thoſe Canons were made, the Third, Fourth and Fifth in the *Greek*: And in the *Latin*, the Third, Fourth, and Seventh, had the Eſtabliſhing of an Authority in the *Roman See*, to receive Appeals from all other Churches, directly in their Eye; the Seventh of which Canons, having near an 100 Years after the time of the *Sardican* Council, been ſent into *Africk* by Pope *Zozimus*, as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and having been juſtly deny'd by the *African* Fathers to be a *Nicene Canon*; a ſolemn Conteſt aroſe about it, betwixt them and that Pope, and his two immediate Succeſſors, of which publick Conteſt, ſince my firſt Suſpicion of the *Sardican* Canons being ſpurious did owe its Birth to it, I ſhall here give a ſhort Account.

One *Appiarius* a Presbyter of the Church of *Sicca*, a City in *Africk*, having been for divers Miſdemeanours Excommunicated by *Urbanus* his Biſhop, he fled to *Rome*; where to encourage Appeals to that *See*, he was

by *Zozimus* Biſhop of that City abſolved, and receiv'd into the Communion of the Church.

The *African* Biſhops, who in a Council which they had held not long before at *Milevi*, had ſtrictly forbid all tranſmarine Appeals, being much offended with what *Zozimus* had done; did, to put a full ſtop for the future to all ſuch Irregularities, and Uſurpations of Power, Aſſemble together in a Council in the City of *Carthage*, to the Acts of which Council there are the Subſcriptions of 217 Biſhops, and among whom was St. *Auſtin.*

Pope *Zozimus* fearing leaſt there might be ſomething done in that Council to that Ruin of his young and tender Claim, did ſend Three Legates to it to maintain it, and knowing how profound and juſt a Reverence the *African* Church had for the Authority of the general Council of *Nice*, he furniſhed his Legates with a Canon, which did expreſly declare the Juriſdiction of receiving of Appeals to be in the *Roman See*, and which Canon he very boldly affirmed was made by the *Nicene* Council: That Canon was as followeth.

It has pleaſed, that if a Biſhop that is accuſed, and is by the Biſhops of his Region aſſembled together judged worthy to be depoſed, ſhall Appeal and Flee to the moſt bleſſed Biſhop

of

of the Roman *Church, desiring to be heard: He if he shall think it just, that his Judgment should be renewed, may condescend to write to the Bishops of the Neighbouring Province, diligently to examine the Matter, and to define it faithfully according to Truth. And if any one that shall desire to have his Cause heard over again, shall supplicate the* Roman *Bishop, to send Presbyters* from his own Side, *it shall be in the Power of that Bishop to do in that as he shall think good. And if he do decree to send some to be present with those Bishops in judging, they having the Authority of him by whom they were sent, shall have the Arbitriment: But in case he shall judge those Bishops to be sufficient to put an end to that Matter, he may do what he in his most wise Council judgeth to be best.*

This Canon, after the Example of most Forgeries is so perplext, and in its several Copies so differently expresst, that its whole meaning is not easy to be understood; but its main Drift is nevertheless very plain, which is, the Authorizing of *Appeals* from all Churches to the *Roman See*; in Contradiction to former Canons, by which they were ordered otherwise.

There was another Canon besides this delivered by *Zozimus*'s Legates, and as a Canon of the Council of *Nice* too, and which is now likewise among the *Sardican*

Canons, but much longer there, than it is in *Zozimus*'s Commonitory; it is concerning Presbyters and Deacons Appealing from the raſh Sentences of their Biſhops. But as there is nothing in that Canon of *Appeals* to *Rome*, but rather the Contrary, ſo the *African* Fathers entered into no Diſpute about it; and the Truth is, *Zozimus* ſeeking to defend what he had done in *Appiarius*'s Caſe by that Canon, looks as if he had received his *Appeal*, as the *Metropolitan* of the Neighbouring Province to *Africk*, which *Appeals* were authorized by the Council of *Antioch*, and not as the Supreme Judge of the whole Church.

When the above repeated Canon was by *Zozimus*'s Legates delivered in a Commonitory, as a Canon of the general Council of *Nice*, the *African* Biſhops were all aſtoniſhed to hear of that Council's having made ſuch a Canon, there being no ſuch among the *Nicene* Canons which were in their Hands; and having told the Legates, that tho' they were ready to yield Obedience to every thing that had been conſtituted by the *Nicene* Council, they could not believe that Canon to have been made by it. The Legates being poſitive that it was undoubtedly a Canon of that General Council, the *African* Fathers to put an end to that Diſpute, which the poſitive Words of the Parties

ties engaged in it would never do, ſaid, they would ſend to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, to have from them the true Copies of all the Canons which had been made in the *Nicene* Council. And having accordingly diſpatched Legates to all thoſe three great Biſhops, they had true Copies ſent into *Africk* from them, of the Canons of that Council, and which did all agree with the Copy of the *Nicene* Canons which they had before. Among which, the forementioned Canon was not only not found, but among them there was a Canon that contradicted it, Commanding, none that were Excommunicated by their Biſhops, to be any where received into the Communion of the Church before they are admitted into it, either by the Biſhop, or by a Synod of the Province to which they belonged.

Now as it had required time for the *African* Biſhops to have true Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, from the remote Cities to which they had ſent for them; ſo during that time the Biſhops of *Rome*, for there were Three whilſt this Controverſy was depending, did ſtand it out ſtifly, that the Canon which had been ſent to them by Pope *Zozimus*, was indiſputably made by the General Council of *Nice*; neither were they at all moved, by that Canon's

Canon's not being in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Canons, ſent out of the *Eaſt* to the *African* Biſhops. The ſame Claim, and without Succeſs was made likewiſe in the *Gallican* Church, by *Zozimus* and his two Succeſſors; which Trick being taken with all its Circumſtances, may ſafely defie Hiſtory to produce ſuch another, for a ſturdy and ſhameleſs Aſſurance. And tho' it might well have been hoped that the *Roman* Biſhops, after that Trick came to be ſo publickly detected before the Face of the whole Chriſtian Church, ſhould have been glad ſilently to have dropped a Cauſe, which by having ſo long endeavoured to ſupport, by ſo groſs an Impoſture, had drawn ſo much Shame and Confuſion upon their Heads; we ſhall hereafter ſee, that it was quite otherwiſe; and that inſtead of being ſo much mortify'd, they preſently went hard to work to cover that ſhameful Blot on their *See*, by heaping upon it Frauds upon Frauds: And among which I do ſuſpect the Canons which have paſſed ſo long currant under the Name *of the Council of* Sardica to have been, that which was ſent by Pope *Zozimus* to the *African* Biſhops, as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, being one of them. Of which Canons I come now to ſpeak.

Now,

Now, conſidering this long and great Conteſt, which was betwixt the *African* Church, and Three Biſhops of *Rome* ſucceſſively, concerning the forementioned Important Canon; Can it well be imagined, that if that Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that both thoſe Popes, and thoſe *African* Biſhops would not have known that it was made by that Council; or if they had known it, that they would not, on ſuch an Occaſion have mentioned it, which neither of them do in the leaſt.

For as to the Popes, as it is not credible that if that worthy Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that they would not have known that it was: So neither is it credible that if they had known it, that they would not have Proclaimed it aloud, after they were convicted of the Fraud of having endeavoured to impoſe it on the *African* Church as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*; both the Honour of their *See*, and of their young and tender Claim to *Appeals*, which could not be but much ſhaken by that ſolemn Detection calling upon them to have done it. The miſtaking of the Canon of one Council for the Canon of another, being nothing near ſo Scandalous and Diſhonourable, as was the deviſing of a Canon, and fathering it on

a General Council, on purpoſe to ſerve a Turn. And of this laſt, for want of their having told the *African* Biſhops that it was a *Sardican* Canon, they were thought to be Guilty. And to this Day we ſee the Papal Champions do look on this as the beſt thing that can be offered to vindicate Pope *Zozimus* and his two Succeſſors, from having been down-right Falſaries and Impoſtors in the Affair of this Canon.

And as to the *African* Biſhops, if this Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, as they could not but have known of its having been made by that Council, at which no fewer than 36 *African* Biſhops were preſent; ſo if they had known that, could they poſſibly, during ſo long a Conteſt, concerning the Council by which that Canon was made, not have once mentioned its being a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*; and the rather becauſe that would, in all likelihood, have ſaved them the great Charge and Trouble of ſending Legates to the Three remote Cities of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for faithful Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council; for had they told Pope *Zozimus* at firſt, That that Canon which he offered to impoſe upon them as a Canon of the Council of *Nice* was not a Canon of that Council, but was Word for Word a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*

Sardica as it is now; he and his Succeſſors would have been aſhamed to have urged that Matter any farther, or to have given them the Trouble of ſending ſo far for faithful Copies of the *Nicene* Canons.

Add to this, that neither *Athanaſius* who in his Writings ſpeaks ſo much of the *Sardican* Council, and to whom *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* was ſo great a Friend, nor any other Writer about that Time, no not Pope *Julius* himſelf, has one Syllable of that Council's having made any ſuch Canon as that of *Zozimus*'s, or indeed any Canons at all. Neither is there a Word of this Council's having made any Canons, in either of its Genuine Letters which are in *Athanaſius*, nor in that which was forged under its Name to Pope *Julius*.

Nor was this Canon of *Zozimus* 50 Years after the Time of the *Sardican* Council known to the *Weſtern* Biſhops, who writing to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, to have a Council of the *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern* Biſhops aſſembled, to judge of *Maximus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*'s Cauſe, who they thought had been unjuſtly depoſed by his *Eaſtern* Neighbours, do not on that Occaſion, ſo much as mention the *Dernier Reſort*, *or laſt Appeal* of Eccleſiaſticks being by any Canon of the Church lodged in the *Roman See*;

See; and which they would certainly have done, and have insisted on it, if they had known that there had been any such Canon. On the contrary, they do expresly disclaim that Authority, which is by *Zozimus*'s Canon lodged in the Bishop of *Rome*; declaring on that Occasion, *Non Prærogativam Nobis vindicamus Examinis, sed Consortium communis Arbitrii: We do not assume to our Selves the Prerogative of an Examination, but only the Fellowship of a common Arbitriment*; that is, in Conjunction with the *Eastern* Bishops. Neither did Pope *Innocent* the First, 60 Years after the Time of the *Sardican* Council, know any thing of that Council's having made any such Canon, for if he had, he would not have told the *Eastern* Clergy, *That the* Roman *Church admitted no Canons but the* Nicene.

It is true, *Palladius*, who flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Century, saith, *That the Canon of the Council of* Antioch, *which had lodged the last Appeal of Ecclesiasticks in the Neighbouring Province of Bishops, was abrogated by the* Sardican *Council.* But he does not say, that it was abrogated by a Canon made in that Council, but only by that Council having in Contradiction to that Canon of *Antioch* review'd *Athanasius*'s Cause, and judged him to have been unjust-

ly

ly Excommunicated and Depoſed by his *Eaſtern* Neighbours.

It is the ſame with St. *Baſil*, and with all that do before the 6th Century ſpeak of the Acts of the *Sardican* Council, who had in their Eye no other Acts of that Council, but thoſe only which did relate directly to St. *Athanaſius*'s Abſolution, of which Acts they did all approve.

Now all this Silence appears to me to be ſo ſtrong an Evidence of the *Sardican* Council's not having made that Canon, that I ſhall ſuſpect that it did not, until I ſhall ſee ſome good Reaſon given to the contrary; but that it was fathered on that Council after the Time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, and that on purpoſe to retrieve the Credit of the *Roman See*, and of its Claim to *Appeals*. And whereas it would have looked odd for a Council to have made but one Canon, and that a Canon too which had been blown on ſo much, or with but one Canon for a Companion; the reſt were therefore deviſed and fathered on the *Sardican* Council, on purpoſe to keep it in Countenance. And the Thing that inclines me the more to believe that this may be the true Hiſtory of the *Sardican* Canons, is, the Biſhops of *Rome* and their Agents having after the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, by numberleſs Frauds ſought to cover this Blot.

The

The Firſt was, by counterfeit Writings, to have perſwaded the World that the *Nicene* Council had made more Canons than the Twenty which were in all the *Eaſtern* and *African* Copies: And that thoſe ſupernumerary Canons being loſt, that which was ſent by Pope *Zozimus* into *Africk* might have been one of them. And as this, if it could have been proved, would have gone a great way towards the vindicating of that Pope and his Succeſſors, ſo they went to work to provide ſtrong Proofs of it.

And whereas no Man, in every thing that related to the Council of *Nice*, could be ſo good a Witneſs as *Athanaſius*, who was preſent at that Council, and ſuffered ſo much for adhering to it: So for that Reaſon two Letters were forged under his Name to bear Teſtimony to that Paradox. The one was ſaid to be Written by him to Pope *Mark*, and the other to Pope *Felix*. And being ſenſible that it would not be an eaſie thing to perſwade the Chriſtian World, of the *Nicene* Council's having made any more than twenty Canons, that they might have four Witneſſes, they forged two Letters under the Name of Pope *Julius*, and one under the Name of Pope *Mark*.

In the Letter under his Name to Pope *Mark*, *Athanaſius* is made to ſpeak home to the Matter; ſaying in it, *Verily, I my ſelf be-*

being preſent, Eighty Chapters were made by that Synod, (meaning the *Nicene*) *Forty by the* Greeks, *and which were publiſhed in* Greek, *and Forty by the* Latines, *and which were publiſhed in* Latin. Now beſides this ſtrange News, ſome things are ſpoke of in that Letter which happened long after Pope *Mark*'s Death; and indeed there are ſo many ſuch Blunders in it, that it is given up for a Forgery both by *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*. And tho' the Letter to Pope *Felix* has not the Advantage of ſuch an Acknowledgement, being confidently quoted by *Bellarmine* as a Genuin Writing, it deſerves it as well: For in that Letter *Athanaſius* is made to tell *Felix* ſtrange News indeed; which was, That he was Conſecrated a Biſhop at *Rome*, and at *Felix*'s Requeſt; whereas all the Chriſtian World knows, that *Athanaſius* was Conſecrated a Biſhop at *Alexandria*, long before he and *Felix* were acquainted. There is alſo a falſe Indiction in that Letter; and in it, the Biſhop of *Rome* is flatter'd in bad *Latin*, as fulſomely as ever he was by any hungry Paraſite.

Pope *Mark*'s Letter to *Athanaſius*, poſitively affirms the *Nicene* Council to have made Seventy Canons, according to the Number of the Seventy Diſciples. But as that Letter bears Date after Pope *Mark*'s Death, and takes notice of Things that

happened after it; ſo *Baronius* is forced to give it up for a Forgery. And as to the Two Letters under Pope *Julius*'s Name, when it is told, That they do belong to the noble Collection of the *Decretal Epiſtles*, enough is ſaid to ruin their Credit, not only with all Proteſtants, but with *Baronius* likewiſe, who with Cardinal *Bona* acknowledges them to be Counterfeits. It is the ſame with Pope *Damaſus*'s Letter to the *African* Biſhops, and with the Letter of three *African* Councils to *Damaſus*, in which, in Contradiction to the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, the Right of *Appeals* is proclaimed to be in the *Roman See*. And whereas St. *Auſtin* had been a great Part of that Council which had ſo firmly withſtood Pope *Zozimus* and his counterfeited Canons, in the Affair of *Appeals*; to ward off his great Authority, a Letter was long after his Death counterfeited under his Name, in which he is made to approve of the *Appeals* to *Rome*, he had oppoſed ſo much in the Sixth Council of *Carthage*. And tho' that Letter is no where found among St. *Auſtine*'s Works, but only in a ſingle Copy of his Letters, and in a late Hand in the *Vatican* Library, the great and falſe Repoſitory of all the Papal falſe Deeds; *Baronius* vapours with it, as a Demonſtration of that Father's having approved of *Appeals* from all Parts

to

to *Rome*, provided they were duly ordered. And ſo does, contrary to plain Matter of Fact, pretend that *Appeals* to *Rome* were not condemned by the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, but only their not being regularly made.

Now what a Cloud of Forgeries, tho' I have not named half of them, did *Zozimus*'s Canon raiſe, to be a Covering to it; and by which long Train of counterfeit Writings, which were through many unlearned Ages believed to be undoubtedly Genuin, the very Foundations of the Papal Supremacy are laid open ſo, that none that have not their Eyes either blinded by the God of this World, or ſtrangely dazled with the preſent great Splendor of the Papal Empire, can help ſeeing the Hay and Stubble they ſtand upon, through all the thin Miſts raiſed by ſubtile Heads to cover them. But to return;

When it was found that the Chriſtian World was not to be perſwaded by counterfeit Writings, that the Council of *Nice* had made any more than Twenty Canons, they had Recourſe to other Frauds.

The Firſt was, That the Councils of *Nice* and of *Sardica*, were by the Ancients looked on as one and the ſame general Council, and that that was the Reaſon of Pope *Zozimus*'s having called the *Sardican*

Canon which he ſent into *Africk*, a Canon of the Council of *Nice*: And when it was found that this would not do neither, as it could not be well expected that it ſhould, the Council of *Sardica* having met above 20 Years after the Council of *Nice*, and having had but few of the ſame Biſhops in it; they then began to extol the *Sardican* Council its ſelf, as a General Council, and of equal Authority with the *Nicene*, if not of greater, in the *African* Church, which had not near ſo many Biſhops at the *Nicene*, as ſhe had at the *Sardican* Council.

Now theſe three Shifts, of the *Nicene* Council's having made more than Twenty Canons, and of the *Sardican* Council's being one and the ſame with the *Nicene*; and of the *Sardican* Council its ſelf being a general Council, and reckoned ſo by the Ancients; tho' they are all incredible Paradoxes in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; are nevertheleſs defended to this Day by all the ſworn Champions of the *Roman See*, but with Weapons ſo blunt and weak, that were they not whetted and ſtrengthened with outragious Railing, and a double tempered Aſſurance, they would be aſhamed to bring them into the Field of Controverſie. For Example, *Baronius* the ableſt of all thoſe Champions, offers to demonſtrate the Council of *Sardica* to have been by the Ancients

cients looked on as one and the ſame General Council with that of *Nice*; becauſe, forſooth, the Ancients when they do reckon up the General Councils, do never name that of *Sardica* among them; but do conſtantly put that of *Conſtantinople* next after the *Nicene*. Which Demonſtration of *Baronius*'s has but one Fault, and that is, that it proves juſt the contrary to that for which he produced it. The *Sardican* Council having never been by any of the Ancients looked on as a General Council, nor as one and the ſame with the *Nicene*, they never numbered it among them, no more than thoſe of *Antioch*, *Ancyra*, &c. And yet poor Proteſtants, becauſe they will not be convinced by ſuch Arguments as theſe, are by that modeſt Cardinal, who always gives hard Names when he is hard preſſed, called *Impudent Innovators*.

And as it is not unlikely that *Zozimus*'s Canon and its Companions, were for the foreſaid Reaſon fathered on the *Sardican* Council, after the Time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*; ſo it is not improbable that that was not done until many Years after that Council, and that it would never have been thought of, if the Chriſtian World would but have been perſwaded of the Council of *Nice*'s having made more than twenty Canons, and of *Zozimus*'s Canon being one of

thoſe that was loſt. For in many Years after the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, I have not met with any Writer that ſpeaks of the *Sardican* Councils having made any Canons.

The firſt Writer, that I know of, that mentions it, is *Dionyſius Exiguus*, who lived 200 Years after the *Sardican* Council, and 100 Years after that of *Carthage*, which is a long Time for the Canons of ſo noted a Council, if it had made any, not to have been ſpoken of; and eſpecially, if that of *Zozimus*'s, which an 100 Years before was expoſed on a Stage more publickly than ever any other Canon was, had been one of that Number as it is now.

Now, were it certain that *Dionyſius Exiguus* was the firſt Writer that ever ſpoke of the *Sardican* Council's having made any Canons; conſidering the Man, his Talents, Inclination, and Practice, there would be juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect him of having been likewiſe the firſt Man that helped *Zozimus*'s Canon to the Honour of having been made by that ancient Council. For tho' this *Dionyſius* was by Nation a *Scythian*, and had ſtudied among the *Grecians* ſo long as to be Maſter of their Tongue; yet he had withal lived ſo long in *Rome*, where he was an Abbot, that no Man was more devoted than he, to the exalting of the Authority of the

Roman

Roman See: And for that End, it is manifeſt he had no Scruple to make uſe of Frauds: Witneſs the Epiſtles publiſhed by him under the Names of divers Popes. Which Epiſtles whether they were forged by him or not, were palpably too ſpurious for one of his, or indeed of any Learning, not to have felt them to have been Forgeries.

And as I think it is pretty plain, that there was a Managery about *Zozimus*'s Canon both in *Greek* and *Latin*, to make it lie ſo under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, as ſhould be moſt for the Advantage of the *Roman See*'s Claim to *Appeals*; ſo I don't think that any Man was ſo likely to be that Manager, as this *Dionyſius*, who underſtood both thoſe Tongues, and was the firſt that turned *Zozimus*'s Canon into *Greek*.

That Managery in the *Latin* was, that whereas *Zozimus*'s Canon, when it was ſent by him into *Africk*, had no *Placet*, nor other Expreſſion of Aſſent of the Council added to the End of it; and which if it had when it was made, none could have imagined that *Zozimus* would have cut it off, to the maiming of his Canon. So for that Reaſon, tho' moſt of the other *Sardican* Canons in *Latin* have the Council's *Placet* or *Decernatur* at the End of them, *Zozimus*'s has none there, and that it might lie Word for Word the ſame in that Council that it lies

now in *Zozimus*'s Commonitory, *Hosius*, as if the whole Council had been in his Belly, before he proposed that Canon, is made to have given his *Placuit* to it.

Ferrandus, an *African* Deacon, is the first Writer quoted by *Baronius*, for having published the *Sardican* Canons. But as that Cardinal could not but know, that those Canons were published by *Dionysius Exiguus*, who writ before *Ferrandus* : So it is more than probable, that the Reason why he rather named the *African* Deacon, than that *Roman* Abbot, was, because that Abbot has been long suspected of having set up a Mint at *Rome* for the Coining of false Evidences for the Papal Usurpations, in which he thought *Ferrandus* would not be suspected of having had any Hand.

But tho' among the *Latins*, that Canon would have passed well enough without any Assent of the Council's being added to it, since there was no such Assent to it, when it was made use of by *Zozimus* ; among the *Greeks* when they had it in their Language, it was not to be expected, that it would pass so : But on the contrary, that they would from its having no such Assent to it, object that it did not appear that the Council had agreed to that Canon, when it was proposed to them by *Hosius*. Wherefore to prevent that Objection, the Coun-

Council's Aſſent is added to it in the *Greek*.

Now as this appears to have been plain Managery, on purpoſe to render *Zozimus's* Canon the more ſerviceable to the *Roman See*, and its Claim to *Appeals*; ſo who elſe but *Dionyſius*, who turned that Canon into *Greek*, could well be the Manager: Neither will it be hard to believe, that he who, for the Service of the *Roman See*, did tamper ſo much with that Canon, would for the ſame End if there was need of it, ſtick at helping it to Companions, and fathering it, and them on an ancient Council.

Whether this Prank was played by *Dionyſius* or not, he has left but little Room to doubt of his being capable of doing as much as this comes to, to advance the Papal Authority; of which I do reckon him to have been a Maſter-Builder: For beſides the Foundations which he himſelf laid, he ſeems to have given the Hint to *Iſidore Mercator*, or whoever he was that did long after forge the Decretal Epiſtles. Which Work, tho' it is now ungratefully ſlighted by *Baronius*, and ſome other Papal Champions, did in its dark Day, the Papal Authority more Service, than all the other Books that were ever writ for it, *Baronius's* own Annals not excepted, which tho' infinitely more polite, ſerves the Papacy too much

much in the ſame way that they did, by juſtifying, tho' not by forging of many counterfeit Deeds.

But leaving all this to be determined by better Judgments, it is certain that in ſome Ages after the Time of the Council of *Sardica*, neither in the *Eaſt*, nor in the *Weſt*, that Council was known to have made any ſuch Canon, or if that was known, its Authority was not at all regarded. As to the *Eaſt*, the General Councils of *Conſtantinople* and *Calcedon*, muſt either have never heard of the Council of *Sardica*'s having made any ſuch Canon, as that of *Zozimus*'s, or they muſt have ſlighted it: The laſt *Appeals* of Eccleſiaſticks, being by both thoſe Councils, in Conradiction to that Canon, lodged in the Biſhops of the neighbouring Province, or in their ſeveral Patriarchs; and in the *Weſt*, Appeals are by the Council of *Arles*, if the *Metropolitan* neglects to do Juſtice, to any Biſhop that has twice appealed to him for it, lodged in a Council of the ſame Church, and by that Council his Cauſe was to be finally determined. And in a Council celebrated in *Lions*, after *Dionyſius Exiguus*'s Death, the *Gallican* Church does order all Debates among Biſhops, to be finally decided by their *Metropolitans*. So little was *Zozimus*'s Canon, if it was known to the *Gallican* Biſhops, under the Name of a Canon of the

the Council of *Sardica*, regarded by them farther.

Martin, Arch-biſhop of *Braga*, tho' he was born near to the City of *Sardica*, and lived after *Dionyſius Exiguus*, takes no notice of them in the Collection of the Canons publiſhed by him in a *Spaniſh* Council; but does in that Collection ſet down a Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which contradicts *Zozimus*'s, in not allowing of any *Appeals* to be carried beyond the *Metropolitan*, and Biſhops of the neighbouring Province.

And in the middle of the Ninth Century *Photius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, than whom no Man was ever better acquainted with the Canons of the Church, as appears from his Learned Writings, had never heard of the *Sardican* Council's having made any ſuch Canon as that of *Zozimus*'s, before he was told of it by Pope *Nicholas*, who had not the Tithe of his Reading and Learning; and who was very angry with *Photius* for not having heard of that Canon before; but his Wrath has the leſs Authority, for his having been angry with *Photius* at the ſame time, for not having heard of the Decretal Epiſtles, which had not then been long forged in the *Weſt*. And as *Baronius* is angry of courſe, which all the Popes are diſpleaſed with, ſo according to his civil Cuſtom in ſuch

ſuch Caſes, he calls that Learned Patriarch an old diſſembling Knave, and offers to prove it from his Writings, in which he ſaith, ſeveral of the *Sardican* Canons were to be found, but he does not ſay that *Zozimus*'s was.

Now if *Photius* had ſet down any of the Canons to which *Baronius* refers, under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, or if thoſe Canons had never been under the Name of any other Council, but the *Sardican*, that might in a good Meaſure, have juſtified *Baronius*'s having given *Photius* ſo ill a Name; but if there is not one of thoſe Canons that was not, before *Photius* writ, under the Name of ſome other Council, and *Baronius* knew as much, as it is very likely he did; that ill Name is thereby thrown back upon him that gave it.

Laſtly, There are ſeveral Things in theſe Canons that have a ſpurious Air in them; for beſides the great managed Difference I have taken notice of, there are many more betwixt them in the *Latin* and the *Greek*.

In the *Latin* they are 21; but that they might the more reſemble the *Nicene* Canons among the *Greeks*, in the *Greek* they are but 20.

In

In the *Latin*, the 18th Canon is propoſed by one *Januarius*, who is not named in the *Greek*.

In the *Latin*, *Zozimus*'s Canon is the 7th. in the *Greek* the 5th, with 20 more ſuch differences.

They are alſo formed in a manner very different from all former Canons, except the *African*, all the former Canons, except the *African*, having been pronounced, and writ as Decrees and poſitive Laws; whereas theſe Canons are by the way of Queſtion and Anſwer, one Biſhop propoſing one, and another another, and a third a third. Now conſidering that *Hoſius* who was the Leading Man in the *Sardican*, and at which ſeveral *Greek* Biſhops were preſent, was the ſame in the *Nicene* Council, is it not ſtrange, if the *Sardican* Council had made any Canons, that they ſhould not have been framed according to that great Pattern, rather than any other? and whereas in the Acts of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, *Zozimus*'s firſt Canon has now a *Placuit* before it, and his Second Canon has before it, *Hoſius Epiſcopus dixit*, I am much inclined to think, that theſe two Prefaces were added to them by *Dionyſius Exiguus*, when they were trimmed up by him to be fathered on the *Sardican* Council: And my Reaſon is, becauſe if thoſe two Canons had had thoſe Prefaces

ces to them, when they were ſent by *Zozimus* into *Africk*, that alone would have been ſufficient to have demonſtrated them, not to have been made by the Council of *Nice*; as *Zozimus* affirmed them to have been, and who being a *Greek*, could not but know, that the *Nicene* Canons had not been propoſed nor writ down in that manner. And that there has been tampering with the Acts of the Sixth Council of *Carthage* in *Zozimus*'s Favour, is pretty Plain from that Pope's Second Canon, being now called in them a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. *Baronius*, becauſe he could not help it, acknowledges this not to be right; but he will have it to have happened by the Words, *the Sardican Council*, having been by ſome innocent Hand writ on the Margin of thoſe Acts; and which in time had ſtole into their Body, and joſtled out of it the Words, *the Council of Nice*. Now though I will not ſay that this was not poſſible, yet all things conſidered, I think one may venture to ſay that it is not ſo probable, as it is, that it was a deſigned Corruption; and which if it was, no Body ſo likely to have had an Hand in it as *Dionyſius Exiguus*, who by that laid up an Ancient Evidence of the *Sardican* Council's having made Statutes, and of one of *Zozimus*'s Canons at leaſt having been of that Number,

Number, and if this was an Accident, the ſame I believe happened in the Fifth Statute of the Firſt Council of *Carthage*; which Statute, tho' this Council, as it appears from its *Exordium*, was celebrated before the *Sardican*, is called a *Sardican* Statute; for is it credible, that if the *Sardican* Statutes had been thus publickly mentioned in the Firſt Council of *Carthage*, that in the Sixth Council in the ſame City, none of the *African* Fathers ſhould ever have heard of them; and that St. *Auſtin* who was preſent at it, ſhould know ſo little of that Council, which in this Statute is called *the moſt Holy*, as to believe it to have been an *Arian* Aſſembly? So having told the Impartial, that the Buſineſs the Emperor had in that Council, was more like the Work of *Conſtantine* the Great, than that of his Son *Conſtance*; and that the Word *Sardican* is in a Statute, brought in by Head and Shoulders, upon a Statute of the Council of *Nice*, propoſed by another Biſhop; let them judge which is moſt likely, that *Conſtantine* ſhould be in the *Exordium* inſtead of *Conſtance*, or the Word *Sardican* in that Statute inſtead of the *Nicene*, as we ſee it is in the Acts of a latter Council of *Carthage*.

There is another thing that a little diſpoſeth one to ſuſpect *Zozimus*'s two Canons, and

and their Companions to have been formed by *Dionyſius* after the *African* Pattern, when he fathered them upon the Council of *Sardica*; and that is, that in his Letter to the Biſhop of *Salona*, he tells him that having tranſlated all the *Greek* Canons into *Latin*, *He had added to them the* Sardican *and* African *Statutes*. Now if this be the firſt time the *Sardican* Council is ſaid to have made any Statutes; *Dionyſius*'s joyning them here with the *African*, leads one to think that he might probably put them in the ſame Dreſs with their *African* Companions, and eſpecially ſince it is ſo hard to find out any other Reaſon for their being in that Dreſs. And if the Preface, that is palmed on the Council of *Nice*, in which it is ſaid, *That the Papal Supremacy did not owe its Origin, to the Decrees of Councils, but to Chriſt's Inſtitution*, and that Patch to the Sixth Canon of the ſame Council, *Eccleſia Romana ſemper habuit Primatum*, was *Dionyſius*'s Manufacture, as they probably were; nothing of this kind was too much for him to do, for the Service of the *Roman See*.

Neither is it very certain that a Legate, ſent from *Rome* by the Pope, was called his Legate a *Latere*, as he is in *Zozimus*'s Canon now, ſo early as either the Council of *Sardidica*, or the Sixth Council of *Carthage*.

Now

Now if what has been here offered, ſhould be able only to raiſe a Suſpicion of the *Sardican* Council's not having made the Canons which have paſſed currant ſo long under its Name, in any that enjoy more and greater Advantages than I do to carry this Matter farther, I ſhall reckon my Pains to have been well beſtowed; for tho' it is true, that tho' *Zozimus*'s Canon had certainly been made by the *Sardican* Council that that would not prove the Papal Supremacy to have been from the Beginning, but rather the Contrary; yet one thing I muſt ſay of it, that it would be a Proof of the Antiquity of that Supremacy, far beyond any other that it has.

I ſhall make Three ſhort Obſervations, and ſo put an End to this Eſſay.

The *Firſt* is, That moſt of the Canons called the *Sardican*, are the ſame in Subſtance with the Canons of the Council of *Antioch*; which was diſſolved Five Years before the *Sardican* met; and indeed *Zozimus*'s worthy Canon is in Subſtance the ſame with the 14th and 15th Canons of that Council, only inſtead of the *Neighbouring Metropolitan*, the Biſhop of *Rome* is thruſt into it.

The *Second Obſervation* is, That in the long and ſolemn Conteſt betwixt the *African* Church and Three Popes, concerning

the Right of Appeals to Rome, the Popes, tho' they laboured hard in vain to have founded that Right on a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, did never say one Word of Christ's having granted them that Authority; so that it is more than probable, that the Bishops of *Rome*, if they could have had that Jurisdiction settled upon them by a General Council, which the Imperial Dignity of their City caused them to thirst after, would have been well contented to have enjoyed it as an Authority granted to them by the Church: But not having been able to obtain that, and fearing that *Constantinople* would by that way sooner get such a Supremacy of Jurisdiction from a General Council than their City, now the Emperors had in a manner left it; they went up to, *Thou art Peter*, &c. for a Grant of that Jurisdiction. And great pity it was, that the Popes when they found that *Zozimus*'s Canon could not be imposed on the *African* Bishops, as a *Nicene* Canon, had not tried, whether that of, *Thou art Peter*, &c. would not have succeeded better; for if they had by what St. *Austin*, who was present at that Council, saith of that Text of Scripture in more Places than one, we have Reason to believe the Papal Supremacy might, from those Learned Fathers, have received its Death's Wound in its Cradle.

The

The *Laſt Obſervation* is, That at the time of the Sixth Council of *Carthage*, nay, until the time that that glorious Church was utterly deſtroyed by the *Arabs*, the *African* Church had produced many more Learned Men, and who had done the Chriſtian Religion greater Service, than the *Roman* had produced. All the *Latine* Writers, of any great Note in the three firſt Centuries, having been *African* Chriſtians; and if St. *Ambroſe* was not a *Roman*, as I don't think he was by Birth, before Pope *Gregory*, who lived at the latter end of the Sixth Century, there was not a Chriſtian Writer of a great Name, that was either a *Roman* or an *Italian*. And for *Gregory*'s Learning, it was with the *Glow-worm*, for its Light, pretty much beholden to the Darkneſs of the Age it was in. And after *Gregory*, to the Papacy's great Advantage, there was not one in 8 Centuries, that was critically Learned either in the Scriptures, or in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity.

Indeed, ſince Learning was reſtored in the *Weſt*, by the *Greeks* having come into it a little before and after the Loſs of *Conſtantinople*, *Rome* and *Italy* have abounded with great Scholars in all ſorts of Learning. But it may be worth obſerving, that tho' ſeveral of thoſe Learned Men have been raiſed to the Dignity of Cardinals, not one

of them has ever been able to climb up to the Papal Chair; which among other Things ſhews, by what Steps it is aſcended, and that the Way to it does not lye thro' the Study of the Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers; but thro' the Study of Men and Buſineſs, and the Policy and Wealth which that Study helps People to. For what a late Pope ingeniouſly confeſſed to the *Janſeniſts*, when they appealed to him; which was, *That he had never Studied Divinity*, might, without any prejudice to their Infallibility, have been owned by all the Popes that were not *Monks* or *Friars*, and who had never Studied Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities neither, to which Schoolmen are commonly as great Strangers as they are to *Greek* and good *Latin*. And as it was the profound Ignorance in the Scriptures and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the *Weſtern* Church was under for many Ages, that filled her with Spurious Writings, forged on purpoſe to advance the Papal Authority, and that cauſed them to be univerſally received as Genuin; ſo the ſame Ignorance has larded thoſe ſuppoſititious Writings ſo with groſs Hiſtorical Miſtakes and Blunders, that none that know any thing of Church Hiſtory can read them, and not feel them to be Forgeries. And for which Reaſon, and no other, many

many of them are acknowledged to be ſo by the ableſt Papal Champions.

It might reaſonably have been expected, that the Papal Supremacy, after the Deeds by which it was firſt raiſed, and was long ſupported in the *Weſt*, were proved to be Counterfeits, ſhould have ſunk with its Foundations; and ſo it muſt, if it had not, before thoſe Deeds came to be queſtioned, made ſo good Uſe of its Time, as to have gathered Wealth, and other ſuch Intereſts ſufficient to ſupport it, without any other Title beſide that of Poſſeſſion. There being but few ſo fond of naked Truth and Juſtice, when they are diſcovered, as to ſacrifice the greateſt Worldly Hopes and Advantages to their Service; or as not to ſeek by all Subtile and Shuffling Ways and Arts to Baffle and Obſcure them, if it be poſſible. So that that Man, whoever he was, did hit the Nail on the Head, that ſaid, *It was a Jeſt for the Council of* Bazil, *which had nothing to give, to contend for Superiority with the Pope, who had ſo much.*

However, when the Time for the Accompliſhment of all the Propheſies relating to that Proud *See* is come; and which is, by many Learned and Pious Men thought not to be far off; no Wealth, Policy, or Sorceries will be able to uphold it; and by that Downfal a moſt bleſſed Scene will

will be opened to the whole Chriſtian Church: And all Nations being charmed with the Beauty of her Holineſs, will flow unto her, making one Sheepfold under Chriſt, the great Shepherd of Souls, and the True Head of his Church, which he Purchaſed with his own Blood; waſhing them from all the Spots and Blemiſhes of Popery, the great Corruption of the Chriſtian Faith, Worſhip, and Spirit.

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